





















HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF MACARTNEY,  
*Embassador Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.*



AN  
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT  
OF  
AN EMBASSY  
FROM  
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN  
TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA;

INCLUDING  
CURSORY OBSERVATIONS MADE, AND INFORMATION OBTAINED, IN TRAVELLING THROUGH  
THAT ANCIENT EMPIRE, AND A SMALL PART OF CHINESE TARTARY.

TOGETHER WITH A RELATION OF  
THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN ON THE OCCASION  
BY HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP THE LION, AND THE SHIP HINDOSTAN, IN THE EAST  
INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE, TO THE YELLOW SEA, AND GULF OF PEKIN;  
AS WELL AS OF THEIR RETURN TO EUROPE;

WITH  
NOTICES OF THE SEVERAL PLACES WHERE THEY STOPPED IN THEIR WAY OUT AND HOME;  
BEING THE ISLANDS OF MADEIRA, TENERIFFE, AND ST. JAGO; THE PORT OF RIO DE  
JANEIRO IN SOUTH AMERICA; THE ISLANDS OF ST. HELENA, TRISTAN  
D'ACUNHA, AND AMSTERDAM; THE COASTS OF JAVA, AND SUMATRA,  
THE NANKA ISLES, PULO CONDORE, AND COCHIN-CHINA.

TAKEN CHIEFLY FROM THE PAPERS OF  
His Excellency the EARL OF MACARTNEY, Knight of the Bath, His Majesty's  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China; Sir ERASMUS GOWER,  
Commander of the Expedition, and of other Gentlemen in the several departments of the Embassy.

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By SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BARONET,  
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Secretary of Embassy to the Emperor of China, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the absence of the Ambassador.

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*English and other Europeans, to and from China.—VI. Statements and plans.—Teas exported from China, in foreign and English ships, from 1772 to 1780, inclusive.—Plan to prevent smuggling tea, submitted to Government in 1783.—Various tables and calculations.—VII. Quantities of teas exported from China, in English and foreign ships each year, from 1776 to 1795, inclusive.—VIII. Goods and bullion exported by English East India Company to China every year, from 1775 to 1795, inclusive.—IX. Number and tonnage of ships arrived in England from China every year, from 1776 to 1795, inclusive.—X. Quantities and prices of teas sold by English East India Company, from Commutation Tax, in September, 1784 to March, 1797, and amount of duties on teas during the same period, with comparison of what the same teas would have cost before the Commutation Act.*

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# EMBASSY TO CHINA.

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## CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF THE EMBASSY, ALONG THE RIVER PEI-HO, TOWARDS THE CAPITAL OF CHINA. DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS FROM THE GULF OF PE-CHE-LEE.

HOWEVER difficult or dangerous it had been found for unprotected strangers to penetrate far in China, those who were now entering into it, guarded by the credentials of the sovereign who sent them, and encouraged by him to whom they were proceeding, had nothing to fear for their personal safety. The people of China had not, indeed, the opportunity, by a frequent admixture with foreigners, of becoming familiar with, and reconciled to, their manners and appearance. Yet the high degree of civilization which was known to pervade every rank in that country, and the impending hand of authority restraining those, if any, who might be disposed, otherwise, to be troublesome, afforded perfect security to the present travellers.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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The little fleet, in which they were embarked, of English brigs and Chinese junks, sailing together for the first time, reached, on the evening of the fifth of



Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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August, 1793, the town of Ta-coo, within the Pei-ho, or White river, and the first place of any note in this north-east frontier of China. There they found a considerable number of yachts, or large covered barges, and boats of burden, calculated to pass over the shallows of the Pei-ho, and destined to convey the whole of the Embassy as far as that river led towards the capital of the empire.

The Ambassador entered immediately into the yacht prepared for his reception. It bore some resemblance to the passage-boats on the English and Dutch canals; but being intended for a longer and uninterrupted route, was made more spacious, and fitted up with greater conveniences, as well as better decorated. The apartment allotted for his Excellency took up most of the vessel, and consisted of an antichamber, a saloon, a bed-chamber, and a closet. In the saloon was a seat of honour, or square sopha, such as is found in the houses of every chief mandarine, and on which, supported by large cushions, he gives audience to his suitors. A gangway, stretching out about two feet beyond the gunwale of the yacht, served for a communication on each side, from stem to stern, for the domestics and crew, without passing through the rooms. On these gangways the seamen stepped, when it happened to be necessary to force, by setting-poles, the vessel over the shallows, or through thick mud. The crew had a small cabin next



the stern, in a corner of which perfumed matches were constantly kept lighted, and placed round an idol upon a small altar. Boats attended with provisions and cooks, to supply the Ambassador's table, without the necessity of going ashore, or suffering any delay whenever the tide or wind should be favourable for proceeding.

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the Pei-ho.

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Sixteen other yachts, most of them of a larger size than that of the Ambassador, as intended each to carry many passengers, were found sufficient for holding the whole of his Excellency's suite. Many of those vessels were eighty feet long, and very capacious; yet they were built of such light wood, and so constructed, as not to sink more than eighteen inches into the water, tho they were lofty above it. The cabins were high and airy. Above them were births for the crew, and beneath the floors were lockers for stowing necessaries.

The chief distinction, as to ornament, between the Ambassador's and the other yachts, consisted in the greater proportion of glass panes which adorned the windows of the former; while the frames of the others were generally filled with a kind of paper, manufactured chiefly in Corea, and in the composition of which an unctuous substance is employed, for rendering the paper more durable when thus exposed to the weather, it being much less easily affected by rain, or any kind of wet, than that which is made in Europe. The general use of glass in the yacht where decoration was principally



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the Pei-ho.

studied, and the substitution of another material for it in most of the others, sufficiently indicated that it was in estimation, but not in plenty.

A considerable guard of Chinese soldiers were destined to attend the Ambassador on shore ; but a few only could be conveniently distributed among the yachts. Whenever an European went ashore from any of them, the presence of a soldier with him announced the immediate protection of the government ; and might have been intended also, as a check upon his conduct.

Beside the yachts for passengers, an equal number of large boats of burden were found necessary for the conveyance of the presents and baggage. The Chinese were not deficient either in expedition, or management, in removing the several articles out of the holds of the sea-junks, in order to tranship them into what might, perhaps, be properly called river-lighters.

No slight care was requisite in the transfer of the packages which contained the presents. This business was entrusted to the superintendence of the same person who had succeeded in transshipping them, without damage, from the Hindostan. Tho the people under his inspection could be employed at one junk only at a time, yet all the packages, in number about six hundred, most of which were heavy and unwieldy, were safely placed on board the lighters in the course of two or three days.

While this operation was going forward, the chief



conductors of the route, Chow-ta-zhin and Van-ta-zhin, waited frequently upon the Ambassador, not only to pay their respects to him, but to take his commands in case any thing were wanting for his perfect accommodation and comfort. They likewise made visits of civility to the principal gentlemen of the Embassy. Inferior mandarines attended all the vessels, for the distribution of provisions, and necessaries for every individual of his Excellency's suite. These persons went from one yacht to another in small boats, called san-pans, which being decked and flat bottomed, could neither sink or be overset.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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A separate table for the gentlemen in each yacht was served up in the manner, and occasionally with all the delicacies, of the country; and sometimes, also, in an awkward imitation of English cookery. The Chinese method of dressing victuals, consisted chiefly in stewing animal substances, divided into small square morsels, mixed with vegetables, and seasoning them with a variety of savoury sauces, and a combination of opposite tastes. The meat most plentiful was beef and pork. The common fowls of Europe were also common here. Among the most expensive articles, and accounted the greatest delicacies, were the nests of a particular species of swallow mentioned in the former volume of this work, and the fins of sharks, both of which afford rich and fattening juices; but require, like the turtle, the admixture of strong spices, to be much relished. With a view to gra-



Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

tify, as was thought, the English appetite, instructions were given by the mandarines, to roast large pieces, such as pigs, turkies, and geese, entire. This is a mode of preparing food which did not appear to have been practised in China; and was executed very indifferently by the Chinese cooks.

Baking bread was as little common as roasting meat. No proper oven was to be seen, in this part of the country. Instead of bread, boiled rice, or other grain, was generally used. The rice swells considerably in boiling; and this operation is supposed to answer, as to wholesomeness or facility of digestion, the purpose of the fermentation of the dough in regard to bread. Wheat grows in many provinces in China. That grain, also, called buck-wheat, produces flour, which, when freed entirely from the bran, is perfectly white, and is frequently, as well as other flour, made by the Chinese into the form of cakes. These, by exposure to steam, are reduced to the consistence of dumplins: for this purpose, the cakes are arranged upon stages of lattice work, fixed in the inside of a wooden frame, and closed on every part except the bottom. The frame, with its contents, is placed over a vessel of boiling water, the steam of which ascends through the lattice work; but is sufficient only to surround the cakes with a thin soft crust. Such as are afterwards sliced and toasted become better substitutes for hard baked bread. Some are rendered more palatable by the admixture of aromatic seeds.



To each yacht were sent jars of a yellow vinous liquor, and also of a distilled spirit. The management of the latter seemed to be understood better than that of the former; for the wine was generally muddy, indifferent in taste, and soon grew sour. The spirit was strong and clear, and seldom partook of any empyreumatic odour. In the northern provinces it was generally distilled from millet, as in the southern, from rice. The strength of some of it was, upon trial, ascertained to be above the common proof for ardent spirits. It is called by the Chinese hot wine, *show-choo*. Regular supplies also came of fruits, such as plums, pears, apples, grapes, apricots, and oranges. Peaches were presented as coming from Peking, in the neighbourhood of which, probably a greater attention is paid to the culture of that fruit than in the provinces. Green and bohea tea were supplied also in abundance; the former chiefly from the Kiang-nan, and the latter from the Fo-chien provinces, both some degrees to the southward of the Pei-ho. The tea, however, was often too fresh for an English palate; and it was not unusual to hear a wish expressed for *London tea*. The province of Fo-chien furnished also sugar-candy and brown sugar; but none in loaf. The Cochin-chinese sugar crystallized in cakes, tho excellent and very cheap, seemed not to have been imported, or much used in this part of China.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

Ample allowance was made of every necessary article



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the Pei-ho.

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to the gentlemen, and likewise to the artificers, soldiers, and domestics in the train of the Ambassador. No slight magnificence was displayed, and no expence seemed to be spared in the treatment of the Embassy, either as to the number of mandarines who were appointed to accompany it, and whose salaries were increased upon this particular service; the crowd of inferior Chinese who were engaged to attend upon the occasion; the many vessels employed in conveying the whole; the parade of reception wherever the yachts stopped; and the occasional shows and decorations as they passed along; the cost of all which, together with that of the supplies of every kind which could be wanted, the Emperor chose, should be entirely borne by himself; upon this grand idea, that the whole empire was as his private property and dwelling, in which it would be a failure of hospitality to suffer a visitor, for as such an Ambassador is always considered by the Chinese, to be at the least charge for himself or for his train, while he continued there. His Imperial Majesty's orders on this subject were very strictly obeyed. A gentleman who accompanied the Ambassador, and who wished to purchase some trifling articles of dress, was immediately supplied; but the mandarine who had been employed to buy them, declared he dared not accept the price from him for whose use they were destined, but charged the same to the Emperor's account. The Imperial mandates, on all occasions, seem to be received with



a degree of awe, and to be executed with a punctuality which imply that they are seldom known to be infringed without a punishment adequate to the offence. The authority of government is delegated, on particular occasions, to superior mandarines ; an instance of which occurred in the dismissal of a subordinate officer attendant upon the Embassy, by the chief conductors of it, for no very violent transgression.

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the Pei-ho.

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During the Ambassador's stay before Ta-coo, there was also an interchange of visits between him and the Viceroy of the province, who, by the Emperor's order, came from Pao-ting-foo, his usual place of residence, distant an hundred miles, to compliment his Excellency on his entrance into the Chinese dominions, and to issue such orders, in regard to him, as the occasion might require. He was the person of the highest rank whom yet the Ambassador had an opportunity of seeing in China ; and was certainly a man of the most polished manners. He was tottering with age ; but not less dignified than he was venerable. In his reception of the Ambassador, he behaved with refined and attentive politeness ; but without the constraint of those distant forms, or particular ceremonies, which are sometimes thought proper to take place in China between persons of unequal rank, or to be substituted where sentiment or education is supposed to be deficient. The punctilios and tiresome formalities, for example, described in some



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the Pei-ho.

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relations of Chinese customs, when tea is served upon the arrival of a visitor, were not observed, or were slightly passed over on the present meeting; in which there was nothing particular in this respect to notice, unless it may be mentioned, that the tea was brought in cups with covers upon oblong saucers, and infused in each cup separately, the leaves remaining at the bottom of the cup; and that the simple infusion of this herb was thought by the host, if not by the guests, preferable to its mixture with cream and sugar.

The Viceroy had taken up his abode at the principal temple of Ta-coo, consecrated to the god of the sea, the proximity of which occasioned, no doubt, frequent invocations to that deity, under the appellation of *Toong-hai-vauing*, or king of the eastern sea. There were several figures of him in different brilliant edifices of porcelain, within one inclosure. The annexed engraving is one representation of this Chinese Neptune; and is emblematic of the element over which he is considered as presiding. He sits upon the waves with firmness, ease, and dignity; and tho he brandishes no trident, *to call up monsters from the vasty deep*, yet he seems to be conscious of security by the possession of a magnet in one hand, while the dolphin, which he holds in the other, denotes his power over the inhabitants of the ocean. His beard flowing in all directions, and his agitated locks seemed intended for a personification of that troubled element.



The circumstance of the divinity's reliance upon a magnet, is a sufficient indication how intimately the knowledge of its properties has been incorporated with the mythological doctrines of the Chinese; as well as at what an early period that knowledge must have been applied to navigation. They who suppose, indeed, from various allusions in ancient authors, as well as from a consideration of the facility with which pieces of iron placed in particular positions acquire magnetic qualities, that these were known in Europe also in very remote

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the Pei-ho.

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the Pei-ho.

ages, conjecture that the trident itself in the hand of Neptune is less a magic wand, than an emblem of that unerring guidance which the magnet is capable of supplying.

Not far from the *Hai-chin-miao*, or temple of the sea god, was the hall of audience of Ta-coo. It was situated in the midst of a spacious court. A broad flight of steps led to a building, of an hexagon form, with a roof supported by pillars, the diameter of which bore a greater proportion to the length of the shafts, than in any order of Grecian architecture. These pillars were of varnished wood, which material might require more thickness than those of stone; as pillars of iron, no doubt, would less than either. For the natural rules and proportions in this science, must necessarily depend on the substance to be employed, as well as on the effect they are meant to produce upon the eye. The hexagon was open on all sides: a circumstance which indicated the mildness of the climate, and was not ill calculated to impress the mind with the pleasing, tho perhaps erroneous idea, that justice there was free and accessible to all. On benches covered with red cotton cloth and satin cushions, sat six magistrates, five, probably, as assessors to the chief, and who might serve the purpose of a check on the caprice or passions of a single judge. The attendants and spectators were very numerous.



Soon after the Ambassador returned to his yacht, the Viceroy sent there a sumptuous repast for him, and three other dinners, each consisting of twenty-four dishes, to the three gentlemen who had accompanied his Excellency on the visit. Why the Viceroy preferred this method of showing civility to his visitors, to that of retaining them to partake of a banquet with him that day, or of inviting them for the next, could be explained by nothing known in Chinese manners or opinions, except what might relate to the rank of the gentlemen accompanying the Ambassador. It did not proceed, as it might in India, from any religious scruple, against eating with profane foreigners. More, indeed, than four persons seldom sit at the same table in China; but a banquet is frequently served upon several tables in the same apartment. It is possible that some circumstance of delicacy towards the Ambassador, which was not explained, or of doubt concerning English customs, might have induced the Viceroy to adopt this particular mode of hospitality, which, indeed, the tables supplied at the Emperor's charge had rendered altogether superfluous.

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the Pei ho.

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During the Ambassador's stay before Ta-coo he was visited by the principal mandarines of the neighbourhood, in whom, as in other Chinese of rank, fewer national peculiarities or partialities were apparent, than in the lower classes of life. The exercised mind is, certainly, less the child of example, or the creature of climate and

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

government than that in which nothing intervenes to counteract the influence of those powerful causes. That the people are justly said to be whatever they are made, is sufficiently instanced in the effect produced upon the common Chinese by the continual apprehension, in which they are held, of the heavy hand of power. When free from that restraint, they are of a cheerful and confident disposition; but they are extremely timid in the presence of their magistrates. This effect was conspicuous in the case of the young man who has been already mentioned to have come purposely in the Endeavour brig from Canton, to offer himself to serve as one of the interpreters of the Embassy. He was sometimes employed to interpret to the mandarines; but he stood in such excessive awe before them, that he seldom acquitted himself well; and never without turning the becoming style of conversation among equals, which he had to render from an European language, into the most abject address that the Chinese idiom admitted from persons of the lowest degree. Not satisfied, however, with taking that sort of precaution for his security, he considered it still as dangerous for him to serve foreigners on any terms, and sacrificing, to his new fears, the inclination he had to see, by means of the office he had undertaken, the capital, and the sovereign, of his country, as well as his desire of emolument in fulfilling the duties of his employment, he determined to return immediately



to Canton in the vessel which had brought him from thence.

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the Pei-ho.

Every arrangement being completed for the Embassy's proceeding up the river, and his Excellency's orders having been taken upon the subject, the signal was made for sailing on the morning of the ninth of August. To the vessels already mentioned, were added such others as were to carry the mandarines of various ranks, and other Chinese appointed to attend the Embassy, in number, at least, equal to that of the Europeans who composed it. No guns are fired in China by way of signal; but circular rimmed plates of copper, mixed with tin, or zinc, to render it more sonorous, are struck with wooden mallets, and emit a noise almost deafening to those who are near it, and which is heard to a considerable distance. This instrument, which the Chinese call *loo*, and the Europeans, in China, *gong*, from the name it bears in other parts of the East, is generally used upon the water. In like manner two pieces of wood struck against each other, and producing a sound like that of a great rattle, serve ashore to give notice from authority, on most occasions, especially among the troops. Drums do not seem to be used in the army; but they form a part of religious music in the temples.

Almost every vessel connected with the Embassy had on board both Europeans and Chinese. From a mixture of people whose habits, wants, and languages, were so

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new to each other, much confusion might be expected to arise. It was avoided by caution and method. The mandarines were, on every occasion, attentive to the accommodation of the passengers. Even the Chinese soldiers and sailors displayed a gentleness of deportment, and a willingness to oblige, distinguishable from the mere execution of a duty; and which showed that the present strangers, at least, were not unwelcome. These strangers were, indeed, announced as coming from afar to pay a compliment to their sovereign; and the lowest of the Chinese were not so depressed as to be insensible of some national gratification on that account.

The approach of the Embassy was an event of which the report spread rapidly among the neighbouring towns and villages. Several of these were visible from the barges upon the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass, while the females, as shy as they were curious, looked through gates, or peeped over walls, to enjoy the sight. A few, indeed, of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river, in order to get a nearer peep; but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the back ground. The strangers, on their part, were continually amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented, in almost every instance, something different from what offers to



the view elsewhere. And a general sentiment prevailed, that it was well worth while to have travelled to such a distance to behold a country which promised to be interesting in every respect.

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the Pei-ho.

The direct progress of the Embassy upon the Pei-ho was very slow; the course of that river being remarkably serpentine. The route was therefore considerably lengthened; and the wind, which upon one stretch was favourable, became adverse upon the other. All rivers or streams of water, no doubt, affect straight lines from their sources to the sea, deflecting only where obstacles occur which their impulse is not able to surmount. If those obstacles consist of rocks or elevated compact grounds, no subsequent accidents are likely to change the bed once formed; but if the waters flow through a country nearly level, and between banks of so loose a mold as to be incapable of resisting a partial swell, or rapid motion, of the river, it will probably, on such occasions, form new and circuitous channels for itself. It did so in the present instance; and to a degree of inconvenience, which appears to have induced the superintending government to take pains for confining it within its usual bounds; and, accordingly, extraordinary quantities of earth have been placed along its sides, in order immediately to fill up any breach which from time to time might be made in them. There are mounds of this kind, in the form of truncated wedges, all along the banks of

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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the Pei-ho, which may also have partly been composed of mud collected from the river's bed. At present the banks of the river are higher than the adjacent plains. Those plains extend as far as the eye could reach; and the windings of the river through them made the masts of the vessels, sailing on it, appear throughout the country, as if moving over the fields in every direction, while the water lay concealed.

The fields exhibited a high state of cultivation, and were generally covered with the *holcus sorghum* or tallest of the vegetables producing esculent grain, commonly called Barbadoes millet. It grows to ten or twelve feet high; and the lowest calculation of its increase was an hundred fold.

In the villages near the river during the first day's journey, the houses had the appearance of being built of mud, like those described near the mouth of the Pei-ho; but, on a closer inspection, the walls were found to be made of bricks ill-burnt, or baked in the sun; which afterwards, as well as the tiled roofs, were plastered over with a muddy-coloured substance, unmixed with lime. There is, indeed, no lime, unless from sea shells, to be had for a very considerable distance from the river, or stone of any kind. A pebble is here a rarity.

Near some of the towns and villages were pyramids about fifteen feet high, but of different dimensions as to length and thickness. They consisted of bags of salt heaped together in that form, as peat is preserved in



some parts of Europe. These bags were covered merely with common matting; which was, however, found sufficient shelter against the dissolution of their contents by rain. The showers which fell in this part of the country were indeed slight, and seldom happened. The fields nevertheless did not appear scorched in the month of August. Few clouds overhung the sky. The degrees of heat felt in the shade each noon are marked upon the two sheets, No. 9 and 10, containing the route through China. No indication of a damp atmosphere was observed; but, in the evenings, a dew was perceptible upon the ground approaching to the river.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho:

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As soon as night came on, the banks were illuminated with variegated lights, from lanterns whose transparent sides were made of different coloured paper, some white, some stained with blue, and others red. The different numbers of lanterns hoisted on the masts' heads of the various vessels in the river, denoted the ranks of the passengers they held; all which, together with the lights from the cabins of the junks, reflecting from the water, produced a moving and party-coloured illumination: a species of magnificence much affected by the Chinese. The night was nearly as noisy as the day, to which contributed not a little the shrill sounds emitted from the loo, struck upon every occasion of conveying signals. The threatening hum,

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

and frequent sting of musquitoes, were likewise particularly troublesome in the night.

In the course of travelling the next day, a considerable inclosure was, for the first time, perceived, resembling a gentleman's park in England. It was the residence of the *Ta-whang*, or chief of the district. His dwelling was distinguished by treble gates, and by two poles erected near them, each forty feet high, destined to bear ensigns of dignity, and, in the night, to carry lanterns for use and ornament. Within the inclosures were seen several buildings, a variety of trees, several sheep and horses. Hitherto very few cattle of any kind had been, any where, observed. Tho the lands lay low, and fit to be converted into meadow, scarcely any were found in that state; or any lying fallow.

On one side of the river was a large grove of high and wide spreading pines; near and amongst which were discovered several monuments of stone, erected to the memory of persons buried underneath. No temple was in the neighbourhood of this cemetery. However a view of the repositories of the dead may increase the disposition to seriousness and piety in buildings consecrated to public worship; considerations of health towards the living, may have been thought sufficient in China to keep those places entirely separate.

The opposite bank of the river, for a considerable way, was crowded with pyramids or stacks of salt, of the



height of those already mentioned. The quantity of that article necessary to fill such heaps appeared to be so enormous, that Mr. Barrow was induced to ascertain it by some sort of calculation. “ The number of entire “ stacks was two hundred and twenty-two, besides several others that were incomplete. A transverse section of each stack was found to contain seventy bags. “ None of those stacks were less in length than two hundred feet. Some extended to six hundred. Supposing “ the mean or average length of those stacks to be four “ hundred feet, of which each bag occupied a space of “ two feet ; there would then be, in each stack, two “ hundred sections, or fourteen thousand bags, and in “ the two hundred and twenty-two stacks, upwards of “ three million bags of salt. Every bag contained about “ two hundred pounds weight of salt ; and, consequently, altogether six hundred millions of pounds in “ weight of that article.”

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the Pei-ho.

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When in the former government of France, several of its provinces were subjected to the gabelle or duty upon salt, a calculation was carefully made of the average consumption of that article. It was then deemed to be considerably under twenty pounds weight in the course of the year, for each individual, including the several uses to which that article was applied. But upon the supposition of the entire quantity of twenty pounds being annually consumed by every Chinese, the present collec-

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the Pei-ho.

tion of that commodity was sufficient for thirty millions of people for a year, without taking into the account the stacks then opened for consumption, and the lesser accumulations before observed along the banks of the river.

This article is a source of considerable revenue to the crown in China. The amount of the duties upon it in the province of Pe-che-lee, is stated to be inferior to what is collected in various other parts of the empire. In several districts of that province, particularly in the neighbourhood of the capital, instead of marine salt, a coarse or unpurified nitre is said to be so abundant, as to be often substituted for it by the people, as in some of the interior parts of India, and may there deserve more the name of common salt than that which the sea produces.

Most of the marine salt imported into the Pei-ho, is brought from the sea coasts of the two southern provinces of Fo-chien and Quan-tung, where it is prepared from sea water. Large fields being made perfectly smooth and flat, with margins elevated about six inches, sea water is let in upon a clayey surface, either through sluices, or pumped up at high water by chain-pumps. The water is suffered to lie on those fields to the depth of two or three inches. The heat of the sun in the summer season is sufficiently strong to evaporate the water. The evaporation carried on slowly and uniformly, leaves behind large cubic crystals, and forms that species



usually known by the name of Bay-salt in England. There are similar works near the mouth of the Pei-ho river, but to no considerable extent. Its more northern situation is certainly not so favourable for the process by solar heat. Artificial heat is found necessary to complete the process in England, and even in some of the southern parts of France. The salt brought from Quan-tung and Fo-chien into the Pei-ho, is sufficient to load annually near two thousand vessels of two hundred tons burden each. When one article alone employs so many junks, it is easy to account for the multitude of them seen upon that river. And, indeed, neither the number of towns and villages within view of the Pei-ho, nor of the inhabitants flocking towards it, surprised the travellers so much as that of the junks which were every instant overtaken, or met sailing upon the river, or passed at anchor in creeks along its banks.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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The pyramids above described were within sight of the great port called *Tien-sing*, the literal signification of which Chinese name is, heavenly spot: an appellation which it claims as situated in a genial climate, a fertile soil, a dry air, and a serene sky. It is the general emporium for the northern provinces of China, and is built at the confluence of two rivers, from which it rises in a gentle slope. The palace of the governor stands on a projecting point, from whence it commands the prospect of a broad bason, or expanse of water, produced

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the Pei-ho.

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by the union of the rivers, and which is almost covered with vessels of different sizes. Many of them never cross the shallow bar at the mouth of the Pei-ho; but are employed in the internal trade carried on by the means of canals as well as great rivers throughout the empire.

Of the rivers uniting at Tien-sing, one, on which the Embassy was to proceed, bore the same name of Pei-ho, that was continued to both when joined. The other was called *Yun-leang-ho*, or grain-bearing river, from the quantities of wheat conveyed upon it from the province of Shen-see, and sent up by the Pei-ho to the neighbourhood of Pekin. Even at this early stage of the present travellers' route through China, they found that the Chinese names of whatever had hitherto occurred to them in the country, were not mere arbitrary unmeaning sounds, or names derived from a foreign origin, but had a signification in the language which served to explain the nature or qualities of what was so expressed: a circumstance which leads to a presumption, that this country had, from the remotest periods, been possessed always by the same race, retaining through all ages the same original idiom, without any material admixture with the people or the language of other regions.

Across the rivers, where united at Tien-sing, was a bridge of boats for the convenience of the people, but which occasionally separated to let vessels pass between



them. Along the quays were some temples, and other handsome edifices, but the rest consisted chiefly of shops for the retail of goods, and also warehouses, together with yards and magazines for maritime stores. The private houses presented little more than dead walls in front, the light only coming to them from interior courts. The spectators were mostly in the streets, and upon the vessels, literally covering the water opposite the city. Few females were mixed with those spectators. The crowds, however, were immense, not only from the highest ground to the water's edge ; but hundreds were actually standing in the water, in order to approach nearer to the spectacle of the vessels which conveyed the strangers. As these could not be incommoded by the crowd, nothing like soldiers or constables interfered with the movements of the people. Yet in all the ardour of curiosity, the people themselves preserved a great degree of decency and regularity in their demeanour. Not the least dispute seemed to take place among them ; and, from a sense of mutual accommodation, none of the common Chinese, who usually wear straw hats, kept on theirs, while the procession of the Embassy was passing, lest they should obstruct the view of the persons behind them, tho their bare heads were thus exposed to a scorching sun. The gradual rise on every side from the water to the furthest extremity of the city, rendered the whole one great amphitheatre. It was literally lined with heads,

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one behind and a little above the other. Every face was seen ; and the number appeared to surpass any former multitude observed in the country.

The fleet which conveyed the Embassy stopped nearly in the center of the city, and opposite to a pavilion where the Viceroy waited for the Ambassador. The former had come over land from Ta-coo by a shorter route than was described by the windings of the river. The Ambassador disembarked with all the gentlemen of the Embassy, and attended with his whole train of servants, musicians, and guards. He was received on shore by the Viceroy and the Legate mentioned in the last pages of the former volume. A body of Chinese troops was drawn up behind them, according to the following order of parade in front, as particularly noticed by Captain Parish.

Three military mandarines, or principal officers.

A tent, with a band of music outside the tent.

Three long trumpets.

A triumphal arch.

Four large green standards, with five small ones between each, and bowmen between each small colour.

Six large red standards with matchlock men, and five small colours between each standard.

Two large green standards, with swordsmen between each.

Music tent.

Triumphal arch.



The weather being very warm, several of the troops carried fans together with their military arms. Fans are worn in China equally by both sexes, and by all ranks; and this use of them at a military parade, will appear less surprising to those who have observed sometimes officers in other parts of the East exercising their battalions with umbrellas over their heads.

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The Viceroy conducted the Ambassador with the principal gentlemen into the pavilion, at the upper end of which was a darkened recess, or sanctuary, where the majesty of the Emperor was supposed to be constantly residing; and to that majesty it was signified that a respectful obeisance should be paid; which, however singular, was accordingly performed by a profound inclination of the body. No such ceremony had taken place when the Viceroy alone received the Ambassador at Ta-coo. His refined manners would not probably allow him to obtrude suddenly a proposal for the acknowledgment of this attribute of ubiquity upon a stranger who might not be accustomed to recognize such a quality in any mortal; but the presence of the Legate, of a disposition apparently opposite to his own, in all likelihood made it necessary even for the dignified and venerable Viceroy not to omit, in the company of such an emissary from the court, any of the usual acts of unlimited respect to the exalted sovereign of the empire.

Tea, sweetmeats, and other refreshments being served,

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and some mutual civilities having passed, it was announced by the Legate to the Ambassador, that the Emperor was at his country residence at Zhe-hol, in Tartary, where he intended to celebrate the anniversary of his birthday, being on the thirteenth of the eighth moon, answering to the seventeenth of September; and that he desired to receive the Embassy there. Beside the disposition of the Ambassador to comply with any wishes of the Emperor, it was particularly grateful to him, that he was to pass into Tartary, as on the frontier he should have an opportunity of seeing the great wall of China; of which the celebrated Doctor Johnson, in the enthusiasm of curiosity, is asserted to have said, that it might be a subject of some boast for the grandson of him who saw it.

The remainder of the Legate's conversation was less satisfactory. He said that the Embassy, after reaching Tong-shoo by water, within twelve miles of Pekin, should proceed by land directly for Zhe-hol, together with all the presents. Many of these were not likely to suffer by the carriage in such a journey; but it was obviously impossible to convey in safety, over the mountains and rugged roads of Tartary, some of the most valuable and curious, which consisted of delicate machinery, or were partly composed of brittle materials. The object of exhibiting all the presents at once before his Imperial Majesty, immediately upon their arrival at



Zhe-hol, could not, at any rate, be attained, because some of the complicated machines had necessarily been taken to pieces, in order to be packed before they were embarked ; and it would take some time to put them again together. It was desirable, beside, to fix them at once in the Emperor's chief place of residence, from whence, after being adjusted by the proper artists, under the inspection of Doctor Dinwiddie and Mr. Barrow, they should not afterwards be removed. Such monuments of European ingenuity and knowledge merited to be preserved in their perfect state. But the Legate was averse to any measure tending to the least delay in the neighbourhood of the capital, which it seemed to have been his intention that no person belonging to the Embassy should visit. He had not been in the habit of forming any just notions, or any adequate estimation of the nice instruments of science ; and nothing but the interposition of the Viceroy saved them from the destruction to which the determination of the Legate had devoted them. It was at length determined, that they should be left at a palace near Peking, usually destined for the reception of such objects.

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In the course of this discussion, the Legate betrayed a perverse temper under an exterior of much calmness. His irregular mind seemed tinctured with a jealousy of all foreigners, and, at the same time, with an utter contempt for them. But the urbanity and graciousness of the

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Viceroy compensated for the failure of the Legate ; and the Ambassador had only to lament, that the great age and different avocations of the former had not allowed of his being appointed to the office connected with the Embassy, which had been conferred upon the latter.

Soon after the Ambassador, and the gentlemen of his suite, had returned to their respective yachts, a magnificent repast, with wine, fruit, and sweetmeats, was sent to them on the part of the Viceroy, as at Ta-coo, together with presents of tea, silk, and muslins. Tho of no considerable value, those presents were accompanied with such obliging expressions and compliments, that they were received in the manner which was thought would be most satisfactory to the donor. He likewise sent a plentiful dinner and presents to the soldiers, musicians, artificers, and servants, of the Embassy.

Among other instances of his attention to the Ambassador, a temporary theatre was erected opposite to his Excellency's yacht. The outside was adorned with a variety of brilliant and lively colours, by the proper distribution of which, and sometimes by their contrast, it is the particular object of an art among the Chinese to produce a gay and pleasing effect. The inside of the theatre was managed, in regard to decorations, with equal success ; and the company of actors successively exhibited, during the whole day, several different pantomimes and historical dramas. The performers were



habited in the ancient dresses of the Chinese at the period when the personages represented were supposed to have lived. The dialogue was spoken in a kind of recitative, accompanied by a variety of musical instruments ; and each pause was filled up by a loud crash, in which the loo bore no inconsiderable part. The band of music was placed in full view, immediately behind the stage, which was broad, but by no means deep. Each character announced, on his first entrance, what part he was about to perform, and where the scene of action lay. Unity of place was apparently preserved, for there was no change of scene during the representation of one piece. Female characters were performed by boys or eunuchs.

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One of the dramas, particularly, attracted the attention of those who recollected scenes, somewhat similar, upon the English stage. The piece represented an emperor of China and his empress living in supreme felicity, when, on a sudden, his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel, who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routes the imperial army. The captive empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of despair naturally resulting from the loss of her husband and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension for that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair and rending the skies with her com-

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plaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows with his compassion, talks of love and adoration, and like Richard the Third, with lady Anne, in Shakspeare, prevails, in less than half an hour, on the Chinese princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer. The piece concludes with the nuptials, and a grand procession. One of the principal scenes is represented in Plate 30 of the folio volume.

At Tien-sing the Ambassador received accounts from the squadron at the river's mouth. It was preparing for a speedy departure: Sir Erasmus Gower, having received the order for supply he had requested, which was directed to the mandarines, wherever he might have occasion to stop for the recovery of his men. It seems, indeed, that twelve months provisions were offered him from Ta-coo, as if already to prepare him for his return home, it being known that he had been ten months in his voyage out.

Among the passengers returning, in the Endeavour, to Canton, beside the interpreter who would not venture to proceed to Peking, were two missionaries, who could not, for want of a licence, be taken to that capital. These men, who from a very early period of their lives had devoted themselves to the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts, were sent several years since, by the superiors of the missions, then resident at Paris, to Macao,



in order, from thence, to join their brethren at Peking. They arrived in the midst of a persecution of Christians in several provinces of the Empire. It owed its origin to some real or pretended practices of the European preachers, or their Chinese converts, of a tendency to produce disturbance. The jealousy of the priests of the religions already established in China, working on the prejudices or passions of the mandarines, often led to the revival of edicts against the introduction of new sects, and novel doctrines, as likely to affect the tranquillity of the state. Those persecutions increased the difficulty and danger for the new missionaries to traverse the country unperceived. They were, in the mean time, occupied by the superior clergy of Macao, in giving instruction to young Portuguese intended for the priesthood. They had not, however, lost sight of their original destination, and eagerly sought for opportunities to pursue it. They had, before they left Europe, qualified themselves, by some application to mathematical and astronomical studies, to be of use at the observatory at Peking. One of them had been, for some time, a pupil of the celebrated astronomer Lalande. Their talents and acquirements, when known to the Emperor, might render them acceptable; and might at length procure them seats in the tribunal of mathematics, in the imperial palace. It is the only department of the state to which Europeans are competent. They who belong to it at present are Por-

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tuguese ; and it is the supposed policy of several of that nation in China, to exclude all other foreigners from a concurrence with them in that respect. This policy, however, is perfectly colonial, or local, neither suggested nor encouraged by the cabinet of Lisbon, nor even, perhaps, known there. But on the supposition of its existing at Macao or Peking, it is likely, as those two missionaries were not Portuguese, that the qualifications which rendered them useful at Macao, and those others from whence they might derive promotion at Peking, may have equally operated to produce the obstacles raised at the former place against their departure from it. They had, however, after some struggle and great patience, overcome those obstacles, and were arrived in the Pei-ho river in their way to Peking. But not forming a part of the Ambassador's suite, and the expected permission from court not having arrived before the departure of the vessel for Canton, they were under the necessity of embarking for that place. It may not, however, be ungrateful to the reader to be made acquainted that the perseverance of those pious men was at last rewarded in the way they wished ; and that they obtained permission from the Emperor to repair to the capital, where they were taken into his service.

The throng of visits to the Ambassador was considerable at Tien-sing, from the several civil and military officers of the place. In seeking out for the nearest re-



semblance between these persons and Europeans, the character of gentlemen of rank in France, while monarchy subsisted there, occurred readily to the mind. An engaging urbanity of manners, instantaneous familiarity, ready communicativeness, together with a sense of self-approbation, and the vanity of national superiority, piercing through every disguise, seemed to constitute their character.

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After the ceremonies of the day were over, and his Excellency was alone, he was informed that a Chinese, who had long been hovering about the yacht, desired to be admitted to his presence. A youth was introduced, clean and composed in his dress, of a modest countenance, and humble in his deportment. He proved to be a young neophyte, a sincere convert to the doctrines of Christ, and a fervent disciple of the missionary who had regenerated him from the paganism of his ancestors. He was devoted to the commands of his ghostly father, and performed now a service of no little danger, in bringing letters to the Ambassador, without permission either from the magistrates of the place from whence he came, or those where he now arrived. For not only such communication with a stranger is not allowed; but even among the natives it is much restrained. There is no establishment of a post for the general convenience of the people through the Chinese empire. Expresses are continually sent on horseback, to convey intelligence to the

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Emperor alone, from every point of his wide dominions, with a celerity scarcely exceeded even by the latest improvements of that kind in Europe. Dispatches are, in one day, carried one hundred and fifty miles. Slower messengers are employed for the ordinary purposes of government, and the use of the mandarines. These are charged sometimes, through particular favour, with the packets of individuals. But the provident attention of the Chinese government preserves carefully the exclusive advantage of giving information to, or withholding it, as it may deem expedient, from, the body of the people.

The letters brought secretly to the Ambassador were from one of the principal missionaries of Peking, whose attention appeared not to be confined to spiritual affairs. In the first of these letters, dated at Peking, the seventh of May, 1793, the writer informs his Excellency, that “ the account of the intended Embassy had reached the  
“ Emperor on the third of the preceding December;  
“ that he shewed marks of great satisfaction at the intel-  
“ ligence, and gave immediate orders that the port of  
“ Tien-sing should be open for the reception of the ves-  
“ sels employed upon the occasion; that he (the letter  
“ writer) was happy at the report he had that day heard  
“ (which, however, was premature) of his Excellency’s  
“ approach to Tien-sing; and begged to assure him of  
“ his personal respects, and of his determination to exe-



“cute the promise he had given to Messieurs Cox and  
 “Mierop at Canton, that he would embrace with zeal  
 “every opportunity that should offer of rendering ser-  
 “vice to the English Company and nation; that upon  
 “the first account of an English Embassy he had taken  
 “pains to prepare men’s minds, as much as in him lay,  
 “and not, he hoped, unprofitably for its favourable re-  
 “ception; and that he should be ready, during his Ex-  
 “cellency’s stay, to render him all the service in his  
 “power.”

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In the second letter from the same person, dated the sixth of August, a few days only before the reception of it, he acquainted the Ambassador that “the Chinese govern-  
 “ment had appointed a Portuguese missionary (whom  
 “he named) to hold himself in readiness to go to Zhe-  
 “hol, in order to perform the office there of interpreter  
 “to the Embassy, and to guide the Ambassador in all  
 “matters of ceremony and state; that he (the letter  
 “writer) thought it right to put his Excellency upon  
 “his guard against the evil disposition and adverse  
 “designs towards the English nation, of the person so  
 “appointed; and whose conversations had already be-  
 “trayed how inimical he was to the success of the pre-  
 “sent Embassy; that if the court had been at Peking,  
 “he (the letter writer) should hope to prevail in coun-  
 “teracting the injurious impressions, which the rash  
 “and ill-founded discourses of the intended interpreter

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“ were calculated to produce ; as well as the multiplied  
 “ calumnies contained, and the strange and malignant  
 “ suspicions of the latent projects of the Embassy sug-  
 “ gested, in a variety of letters from Canton and Macao :  
 “ but that he was very apprehensive mischief might be  
 “ done at Zhe-hol, where the Emperor resided ; but  
 “ where he (the letter writer) could not proceed, unless  
 “ called there by the government ; that he was truly  
 “ anxious to testify his gratitude, in common with most  
 “ of his colleagues, to the English nation, for the pro-  
 “ tection afforded, in their settlements in India, to the  
 “ missionaries employed for the propagation of Christia-  
 “ nity there ; that his first letter had, on the different  
 “ reports of his Excellency’s arrival, been already three  
 “ times at Tien-sing.” And he concludes by requesting  
 that “ his letters should be kept secret, lest the know-  
 “ ledge of their contents might draw upon him the re-  
 “ sentment of the Portuguese.”

Tho the above letters might have been dictated by a spirit of opposition, ambition, or intrigue, the assertion of extraordinary jealousy on the occasion of the Embassy, was only a confirmation of what had been communicated, upon the same subject, by disinterested persons at Macao. No answer, however, was hazarded to this unexpected addresser ; nor was the time yet come to take any measures upon the subject. There was perhaps greater cause of apprehension from the untoward disposition of the



Legate, and the prejudiced reports he might make to the minister, than from the influence of any European.

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The weather in the evening was favourable for departure; and the several yachts and other vessels belonging to, or connected with, the Embassy, sailed a little way beyond Tien-sing. It appeared, as the vessels passed thro it, to be of considerable length. Some of the observers supposed it to extend as far as from Millbank to Lime-house, or about the length of London. The mandarines of the place asserted that its population was equal to seven hundred thousand souls. The immense number of spectators it supplied rendered such a computation likely, even allowing for the accession of persons from the neighbourhood, whom the novel sight might have attracted; but adding, at the same time, the due proportion of females and of children, that had mixed but little in the crowd. The junks, which were numerous enough almost to cover the waters which divide this commercial city, contained several thousand people. It is not alone to the persons sufficient to navigate those vessels that they afforded habitations. The wives and families of the officers and sailors reside with them constantly on board. There many of them are born; and all of them spend their lives. Every shore to them was foreign; and the earth an element on which they ventured but occasionally.

Such of the houses of Tien-sing as, by having shops

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for the retail of merchandize, or working places for manufacturers, were open to the street, seemed as full of people as the habitations upon the water. Of the numbers contained in the other buildings some judgment may be formed, not only by those of the spectators seen abroad, but from the constant and, probably, patriarchal usage, to which this people still adhere, of having all the branches or existing generations of the same family, under a single roof, and in small apartments. In consequence of such usage, retained by the Chinese emigrants at Batavia, it appeared upon a regular census taken of the inhabitants of that settlement, that ten men fit to bear arms were found in every Chinese house.

The houses of Tien-sing were chiefly built of brick, of a leaden blue colour. Few were red. Such as were used in the smallest and poorest dwellings, were of a pale brown. These different tints are supposed to have arisen not from any difference in the nature of the earth of which they severally consisted, but in the method of converting that earth into bricks. Those last mentioned had been exposed to no other heat than that of the sun, in which they were only baked or indurated imperfectly. The blue bricks were exposed to the action of a close wood fire, in kilns erected for that purpose, and where little actual flame was suffered to attain the surface of the bricks. Such as received the action of the flame were inclined to red. When the clay is first moulded into the form



intended for bricks, it is the custom in the East to lay them at once in rows one above another. They are, when thus laid, in a soft and humid state, and from the nature of argillaceous earth, particularly adhesive. It becomes, therefore, in that state, necessary to keep them separated by some substance of a nature that will not itself adhere to either surface; without which the different rows of bricks would, as they dried, form together one solid mass, incapable of being applied to the use for which they were destined. This purpose is answered by placing between these rows thin layers of straw; and this precaution is deemed so essential, that it has given rise to the oriental proverb, on this subject, which has passed into the languages of the west.

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Many of the houses at Tien-sing are two stories high. This is contrary to the general mode which the Chinese affect in building. They mostly prefer houses of a single story, in conformity to the original form of all dwellings: and there are many Chinese who still feel awkwardly in ascending stairs, or looking down from heights. But the advantage of being near the quays and water side of a commercial town, has given rise to what is considered in that country as a duplication of building on the same site.

The confluence of two navigable rivers, one flowing from the neighbourhood of the capital, and the other communicating with some of the distant provinces, must have rendered this *heavenly spot* a place of some

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resort, from the earliest period of the union of the Chinese into one empire. The annals of the country, confirmed by tradition, mention that a northern branch of the great Yellow river once fell into the gulf of Peking; and continued in that course, until the violence of torrents raised a mound which, increased by prodigious efforts of human labour, threw the whole of the river into the eastern branch, which now conveys the total mass of waters of that vast flood through the province of Kiang-nan into the Yellow sea. The ancient maps of China show the original division of the Yellow river into two branches; but those maps are so confused and incorrect, that it is not perfectly clear whether the northern branch was added to the rivers at Tien-sing, or whether it joined the gulf alone; but if the former were the case, the expanse of waters round which that city was erected, must have been still more considerable than it now appears; and it is accordingly represented in ancient maps much larger than it is at present, particularly in that of Marco Polo, in which Tien-sing is called Citta celeste. It was already, at that time (in the thirteenth century) in the rank of a city; but it long bore, as its former termination of Tien-sing-wee in the Chinese tongue implies, the character only of a town, of little note and confined jurisdiction. Wherever a town was built in remote antiquity, and is still inhabited, the original houses must have often, in the course of ages, yielded to



new erections raised, in some measure, upon the former ruins. The foundations of buildings in existence now, are, therefore, more elevated than those which stood prior to such gradual accumulation. The present city appears, consequently, to be built on a rising ground, tho on every side the country falls into a perfect flat, and, like the sea, presents one simultaneous plane terminated only by the horizon.

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The lands, as the Embassy proceeded, continued to appear cultivated with the utmost care. Most of the fields were covered as on the other side of Tien-sing, with the *holcus sorghum*, or Barbadoes millet, distinguished by the Chinese under the name of *kow-leang*, or lofty corn. It is cheaper than rice in all the northern provinces, where probably it was the grain first cultivated, as it appears in ancient Chinese books, that measures of capacity were originally ascertained by the numbers of this grain which they contained. Thus one hundred grains would fill a *choo*; and this measure was multiplied and divided in decimal proportions. Distances, or measures of length, and also weights, were likewise calculated from standards taken from the same grain. The straw or stalks of this corn are too stiff and firm for the uses to which such a material is generally applied elsewhere. But coarse mats are sometimes made of them, and laths to receive plaster for walls and ceilings. The lower part of the stalk, together with the root, serve for fuel, except

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where wanted for banking up the loose sides of canals and rivers. The sides of the Pei-ho are supported also by parapets of cut granite, to resist the floods, at particular reaches of the river ; and at others the banks are bordered by causeways of the same material for a considerable length, together with sluices at proper distances, to let off the water, which is distributed in due proportion, for the irrigation of the adjacent grounds. In some parts accumulations of sand and mud form islets in the river, thus dividing it into two narrower and shallower branches.

The Barbadoes millet was frequently planted in alternate rows, having between them rows of a smaller grain and humbler stems, either the *panicum italicum*, or *panicum crus galli*, to be sheltered for a time by its taller neighbour, until the latter shall be reaped ; when the former, then fully exposed to the sun's rays, ripens in its turn, and is fitted for the sickle. Sometimes in small spots accidentally vacant near the edges of the bank, or along ridges of corn, was planted a species of *dolichos*, not unlike the kidney-bean. Sometimes were seen whole fields of beans, and also several of *sesamum*, and other plants, of which the seeds yield oil much used for culinary purposes. No weeds were anywhere observed to diminish useful produce, or to share with it the fruitfulness of the earth. Every field had the neatness and regularity of a garden. The



corn and pulse then growing had succeeded to a former crop in the same year. Wheat in dry, and rice in moist, situations, were said to be cultivated to advantage.

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Few trees or cattle adorn these plains. The eye, however, was delighted with the unbounded prospect of habitations, and the prosperous effect of careful culture. Famines sometimes happen, notwithstanding, in this part of the province. In some seasons inundations, produced by torrents from the mountains, and as often the depredations of locusts, are causes of this disaster. On these occasions, robberies are frequent; and, tho checked, are not easily repressed, by all the rigour and exertions of the government. But as they are, in fact, committed from necessity and the goadings of hunger, so they usually cease at the return of plenty.

The tide, of which the flood had aided the progress of the yachts conveying the Embassy, ceased about thirty miles beyond Tien-sing. Where there happened to be little or no stream or wind, it was not uncommon for the sailors to make use of two large sculls or oars, sometimes placed towards the fore part of the vessel, like the two pectoral fins of a fish, and sometimes near the stern; and in other vessels one only at the stern, and one at the bow. Each oar has a small socket that receives an iron pivot, fixed on a piece of wood projected for that purpose from the gunwale. Several men are employed to move each of these large oars, which are never taken out of the water;

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but are made to perform beneath its surface, a kind of vibratory motion, displacing the water first with one edge, and afterwards with the other. This labour the men seem to undergo with pleasure, keeping time with their strokes to a spirited air sung by the master, and accompanied in the chorus by all the men. The same air is sung on board every vessel in the river. On a still moonlight night, this cheerful air re-echoed from a hundred different vessels gliding in various directions through the water, conveyed a pleasing idea of the contented disposition of this laborious class, living entirely on the water, and forming no inconsiderable portion of the general population.

When the method just described for forwarding the progress of the yachts was impracticable or insufficient, and the breeze was unfavourable, or too weak to stem the current tending to the sea, other means were used, such as had been practised near the mouth of the river, to track or drag the yachts against the stream. For this purpose, in most other countries, horses or mules are generally employed. In China it is not merely that the labour of men is cheaper; but it does not seem to occur to spare it, wherever the purpose can be answered by its exertions. In the present instance, the tracking rope is fixed to the upper extremity of the principal mast; and is joined to another that proceeds from the vessel's prow. The rope, to which the power is applied, is of consi-



derable length. To this main rope are fastened cords formed into loops, one of which each tracker throwing over his head, places opposite to his breast; and frequently substituting to the cord a piece of board, to prevent the immediate pressure of the former around his breast, which might impede the playing of the lungs. Thus the trackers yoked move in a line together to the sound of a popular song, which, by regulating their steps, and uniting their efforts, renders the latter more effectual; and diverting their minds from the hardships of their situation, contributes to reconcile them to their labour, and even animates their exertions. There were, upon an average, about fifteen men employed to track each yacht. The whole number was, at least, five hundred for this service only, in actual exercise, beside an equal number to relieve the others alternately. They were well-made, muscular men; but remarkably round-shouldered. In the summer they go almost naked upwards from the waist; and those parts of their skin are copper-coloured; but they are naturally fair, as appears from their lower extremities, which they uncover when they have occasion to plunge into the water.

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The low and sometimes marshy country, through which the river passes, is favourable to the production of insects; and many of them were very troublesome, some principally by their sting; and others by their constant stunning noise. The music emitted by a species

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of cicada, was not of the vocal kind; but produced by the motion of two flaps or lamellæ which cover the abdomen or belly of the insect. It is the signal of invitation from the male of that species to allure the female, which latter is quite unprovided with these organs of courtship. This favourable soil gave birth likewise to a species of moth, of a size not very much inferior to that of a humming bird.

A variety of objects upon the shore, attracted the notice of the travellers, and often impelled them to quit the yachts, the progress of which was frequently so slow as to allow of occasional excursions upon land. But they began to observe that they were watched with a degree of jealousy and suspicion, beyond what they had heard or read of the cautious police of China. This change was found to be the consequence of orders from the Legate. It was difficult to attribute unnecessary measures of restraint to ill-humour alone; and no other cause could be conjectured. At length the interpreter discovered, from scattered hints in the familiarity of discourse with the mandarines, that dissatisfaction had lately been conceived at court against the English nation. The only explanation, which after much difficulty, and with no slight caution, could be obtained on this occasion, was the following. In a war which the Emperor of China had waged in the country of Thibet, his army met with more resistance, and suffered greater losses,



than were foreseen from such an enemy as was expected to be encountered. Some of the Chinese officers immediately fancied that they perceived European troops, and the effect of European discipline, in opposition to them. They discovered *hats*, they said, as well as turbans, among their enemies. The former, it was concluded, could be only English. The report put politically forward among the people of China was, that, on the contrary, the English had given assistance. Tho the Ambassador took for granted, that neither fact was true, yet he was conscious that the belief of the first assertion would be sufficient to alienate the administration of China from any favourable disposition towards, or confidence in, the government of Great Britain.

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In such a temper, tho the Emperor personally was flattered with the Embassy, and peremptory in his orders for its reception, yet the ministers, coupling this mission from the English with their supposed hostility, and their real strength, on the side of India, might be disposed to suspect some sinister intention latent under the present proffer of gifts and friendship. Similar suspicions led, it is known, not long since, the Ottoman court, to prohibit the passage of English travellers through Egypt, on the ground, as was set forth in the body of the proclamation, that it was the practice of their military men to go disguised as merchants, and take plans of foreign places, and make observations on their state of defence,

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in order to return afterwards in force, to attack them with a greater certainty of success. It was no uncommon policy in the East, to precede an attack upon a foreign nation, by the semblance of an amicable embassy to it, for the real purpose of examining its situation. The British administration was perfectly aware of the prejudices that might be attempted to be excited against the English, as to ambitious views, from the circumstance of their acquisitions in Bengal; and the most judicious method had been pointed out to the Ambassador to follow, in order to allay any suspicions arising from a dominion so accidental, and so little sought for; but it was impossible to foresee, or prepare against, the imputation of an actual interference with the Chinese arms, which had never taken place; and it was only after the Ambassador's arrival in Canton, in the following year, that he learned, by dispatches from England and Calcutta, what were the circumstances that led to so groundless an assertion.

In those dispatches it was mentioned that hostilities had, for sometime, subsisted between the governing power residing at Lassa, situated to the north-north-east, and that at Napaul, to the north-west, of Calcutta; both lying northerly from the Soubah, or viceroyalty of Bengal. Napaul borders immediately upon the British territories or dependencies, which extend to the northern limits of the plains of Hindostan. From these plains the earth rises to a perpendicular height of seven thousand feet in



the short distance of fifteen miles; and “from the summit,” as is expressed by the elegant and instructive pen of Major Rennell, “the astonished traveller looks back upon the plains, as on an extensive ocean beneath him.” Beyond Napaul to the west, and Bootan to the east, is situated the country of Great Thibet, where the British arms penetrated, through fortified passes, upwards of twenty years ago, and forced the government there to sue for peace. The Teshoo Lama, or spiritual chief and sovereign of Thibet, sent, on that occasion, an Ambassador to the Governor General at Calcutta; and an Embassy went, in return, from the latter place to Lassa. From that period there has been no difference of any kind between the respective governments; on the contrary, an amicable intercourse took place between them. Commercial exchanges were begun from the one country to the other; and more were in contemplation.

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At that period the Emperor of China, tho a disciple of the religion of the Lama, and considered as his temporal protector, did not appear to interfere in the affairs of Thibet. But soon afterwards he invited the Lama, to whose doctrines he was zealously attached, to visit him at his court, in order to confer with him on religious subjects. The accounts from Peking of the Lama's reception, are full of the extraordinary honours paid to him as the head of the Emperor's faith, and visible type of the deity he adored; and also of the regret which his Majesty

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felt on the Lama's death, occasioned by the small-pox, soon after his arrival. The suddenness of this calamity excited, however, strong suspicions in Thibet. It was there imagined, that the Teshoo Lama's correspondence and connection with the English government of Bengal, had given umbrage to his Imperial Majesty, who yielding, it was concluded, to the suggestions of a policy practised sometimes in the East, drew the Lama to his court with intentions different from those which he had expressed in his invitation. Certain it is, that Sumhur Lama, brother of the deceased, was so much alarmed, that he fled from Lassa, taking with him a considerable quantity of treasure; which, probably, contributed to procure him the protection of the Rajah of Napaul. In order to ingratiate himself with this Rajah, he described to him the gold and silver mines in the neighbourhood of Lassa; and informed him likewise of the vast riches remaining in the Poo-ta-la, or great temple, situated near that capital. Allured by the temptation of booty, the Rajah sent troops towards Lassa, which after a march of about twenty days, met the Thibet army assembled to resist them. Many battles were fought between them. Victory remained on the side of the assailants; and a peace was made on the condition of an annual tribute of three lacks of rupees from the Lassa country to the Rajah of Napaul.

In the vicissitudes of power, so frequent in many



parts of the East, Lassa had been already once dependent upon Napaul; and the effigy of its Rajah was stamped, as paramount sovereign, upon the coin of Lassa. For the continuance or revival of this practice, the present Rajah of Napaul stipulated likewise in the new treaty, which appears to have been concluded through the intervention of a chief, belonging to the Emperor of China, habitually resident at Lassa. It probably was meant, by the vanquished, to continue only till they could obtain succours from elsewhere. Application was made for this purpose to the Governor General of Bengal, who declined to interfere.

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The Rajah of Napaul, encouraged by his success at Lassa, sent troops afterwards to Diggurah, another district of Thibet, and plundered the treasury belonging to the Lama of that place, who was also one of the high priests of the Emperor's religion. These repeated aggressions on the part of the Napaul Rajah against the spiritual fathers of the faith of his Imperial Majesty, and against countries which were under his protection, at length determined him to avenge those injuries, notwithstanding the great length and difficulty of the road through which his troops would have to march, before they should arrive at the enemy's country. Seventy thousand men reached the borders of Thibet in 1791. From thence to Napaul the distance exceeds five hundred miles; and the country is difficult and rugged. "Some of the mountains of Thibet, which are visible

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“ from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, are,” Major Rennell says, “ commonly covered with snow.” He supposes them to be “ in point of elevation, equal to any of those of the old hemisphere ;” and adds, that “ the country of Thibet, is altogether one of the highest in Asia: it being a part of that elevated tract which gives rise, not only to the rivers of India and China, but to those also of Siberia and Tartary.” The climate is remarkably severe, though situated in the southern part of the temperate zone, under the fortieth degree of north latitude. Beside the difficulties which such a country naturally presented to the passage of an army, the hills which were to be traversed on the Napaul side, were said to be fortified by art. The Rajah’s own army was considerable, and flushed with former successes. He was not, perhaps, without hope of military assistance from Bengal. He claimed it as a neighbour and an ally. He had, by many friendly advances, long sought to form an intimate connection with the British government ; and which was then recently effected in the form of a commercial treaty. It was not unusual for the princes in alliance with, or dependent upon, Bengal, to obtain from thence the use of troops for particular services ; and about this time a small detachment was sent to the Rajah of Deringha, to enable him to recover possession of his country lying to the eastward of Bengal, not far from the western boundaries of



China; and another detachment was sent to quell some disturbances in Assam, occasioned principally by bands of vagabonds from Bengal. The Rajah of Napaul encouraged his troops with the expectation of similar assistance; and spread the report of having received it, in order to intimidate his enemies.

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On the other hand, the general of the Chinese forces wrote, in a lofty style, to the Governor General of Bengal, desiring, in the name of his master, “ *the flower of the imperial race, the sun of the firmament of honour, the resplendent gem in the crown and throne of the Chinese territories*, that British troops should be sent to seize and chastize the Rajah as he deserved.” Among the extravagant ideas which the unlimited authority of the sovereigns of China over all things immediately around them, had led them to entertain, was that of universal monarchy; and a renunciation of so absurd a claim, is mentioned as an instance of the moderation and good sense of the present Emperor. It is, however, possible that some such notions still prevalent in the mind of this commander of his troops, may have induced the latter to expect an immediate compliance with his desire on the part of a British governor. The letter conveying this desire was written in the language of the Emperor his master, and could not then be translated at Calcutta; but the substance of it was communicated in another from Dhallary Lama, at that time reigning in Thibet.

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It is necessary in this place to observe, that in Hindostan the heat and cold do not vary throughout the year in so sensible a manner, as to occasion the principal division of the seasons to be made, into summer and winter, as in Europe. In the first six months of the year, the weather is remarkably dry; while in the remainder the rain falls in torrents unknown in other regions; and which swell suddenly the rivers, inundate plains, destroy roads, and almost change the appearance of the country. The year is, therefore, justly distinguished there into the dry and rainy seasons.

The season of the rains, which intervened soon after the receipt of the above mentioned letters at Calcutta, rendered the journey difficult and tedious between that settlement and Lassa. The messenger who had brought the dispatches from thence, was detained also in his return, a long time upon the road, by illness. The Chinese general receiving no answer at the expected period, was the more easily disposed to credit the reports spread in the country, that British troops had, contrary to his expectation, been sent to the assistance of the Rajah; especially as he found the struggle was maintained by the latter with uncommon obstinacy. Nor is it absolutely impossible that a few fugitive sepoys from the forces maintained in the northern districts of Bengal, acquainted with the discipline, and even dressed in the uniform, of the English East India Company's troops,



may have found their way to the Napaul army, where, no doubt, they would be joyfully received. The bad-  
ness of the season, and the ruggedness of the country, increased the danger to the attacking army, and rendered their success uncertain. The idea of having a double enemy to encounter would add to the renown of victory, or mitigate the disgrace of a defeat. Accounts were accordingly said to be transmitted to Peking that English troops had joined the Rajah. The intimate connections of the Chinese commander with the court, the remoteness of the country where he was sent, the laws of the empire prohibiting all persons belonging to the army from corresponding, except with the consent of the commander in chief, on military matters, the general ignorance of the people of China as to all political transactions, their prudent silence on such subjects, had already enabled that commander, it was whispered, to practise similar impositions, while at the head of an army sent against the Tung-quinese. On that occasion, notwithstanding his misconduct and discomfiture, he contrived to satisfy the Emperor, and to receive the reward of merit and success. His conduct was likewise blameable as Viceroy of Canton, where he committed acts of oppression towards foreigners, and hated them, perhaps, for the injuries he made them suffer.

So far, however, was the present accusation against the English from having the least foundation, that the

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noble person who then presided in Bengal, with so much honour to himself, and advantage to his country, conducted himself in this business, not only with the most strict neutrality, but with peculiar propriety and attention towards the Emperor of China. It was determined by him “to send a friendly deputation to the “Napaul Rajah, with instructions to assure him, that it “was the earnest wish of the members of the Bengal “government to extricate him from a ruinous war; but “at the same time to state to him, that as the amicable “correspondence which they had held with the Lamas, “and the commercial connection which had long subsisted between their country (of England) and that of “the Emperor of China, did absolutely preclude them “from committing hostilities against either of these “powers, without any provocation on their part, it was “only by means of conciliatory negotiation that they “could endeavour to assist him; and that, in order to “effect this desirable purpose, it would be necessary to “open an immediate intercourse with the commander “of the Chinese and Thibet forces.” A collateral advantage was expected to be derived from sending such a deputation to Napaul; for, “owing to the jealousy which “the chiefs of that country had hitherto shewn of the “English, the latter knew little more of the interior “parts of Napaul, than of the interior parts of China; “and it was therefore thought that no pains or attention



“ should be spared to take advantage of so favourable an  
 “ opportunity to acquire every information that might Passage up  
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 “ be possible, both of the population and of the manners  
 “ and customs of the inhabitants, as well as of the trade,  
 “ manufactures, and natural productions of a country,  
 “ with which it must ever be desirable to maintain the  
 “ most friendly communication.”

The Governor General wrote immediately to Dhalary  
 Lama, that “ as the English Company had nothing more  
 “ at heart than to maintain the most cordial and friendly  
 “ terms with all the powers in India; and, sensible of  
 “ the wisdom of that conduct, they were careful not to  
 “ infringe the rules of friendship by interference, in a  
 “ hostile manner, in the disputes prevailing among fo-  
 “ reign powers, except when self-defence or wanton at-  
 “ tacks obliged them. That the English governor had  
 “ sent an answer, conformable to those sentiments, upon  
 “ the Rajah of Napaul’s application for military assist-  
 “ ance. It could not be unknown to him (Dhalary  
 “ Lama) that a friendship had long subsisted between  
 “ the English and the Rajah of Napaul, and also be-  
 “ tween the Emperor of China, whose protection ex-  
 “ tended over the Lama, and the Company. The Eng-  
 “ lish had for many years carried on commercial con-  
 “ cerns with the subjects of the Emperor, and had ac-  
 “ tually a factory established in his dominions. On  
 “ account of the connection with the Emperor, and

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“ knowing the Lama to be held in high veneration by  
“ his Imperial Majesty, the Governor General was an-  
“ xious that his (the Lama's) country should continue  
“ in peace; and that an end should be put to war, which  
“ ultimately contributed only to the misery and distress  
“ of his subjects. With this view, therefore, the Gover-  
“ nor General should be happy if his amicable inter-  
“ ference could, in any shape, contribute to establish  
“ harmony and peace between the Lama and the Rajah  
“ of Napaul, and should be ready to use it in the way  
“ of a friend and mediator. As the (then) present season  
“ of the rains, however, would not admit that any steps  
“ towards such mediation be adopted, he should post-  
“ pone his intentions until the rains were over, when  
“ he would depute a gentleman, in his confidence, to  
“ that quarter, who would communicate his sentiments  
“ fully; and by his endeavours he hoped that peace  
“ would again reign between the Lama and the Rajah  
“ of Napaul, and the intimacy and friendship between  
“ each other be increased. That gentleman being in his  
“ confidence, would be accompanied by a few sepoy  
“ as a guard and protection to himself and servants;  
“ and this the Governor General mentions to prevent  
“ the bad effect of fallacious reports.”

Some opportunities, however, offered, or pressing cir-  
cumstances happened, to induce the Chinese and Thi-  
betian troops to put an end to the war as soon as pos-



sible, by attacking the Rajah of Napaul, notwithstanding the inconvenience of the rains, without waiting for the effect of the proffered mediation; and the Rajah, despairing of the succour with which he had vainly flattered himself from the English, restored the plunder he had seized, and was allowed to continue in possession of his former territories. The Chinese general had, in the beginning, threatened to exterminate the Rajah's race, and to add his dominions to those of China. In such an event, the British, would have joined the Chinese, empire. But whether he was apprehensive that such a neighbourhood would not be coveted by the English, who might still interfere to prevent it, or was satisfied with the glory he had acquired; and mindful how much his army had already suffered in the several conflicts that had taken place, he affected to procure the Rajah's pardon from the Emperor, on the ground of "his country being of small extent, and its inhabitants of a foreign tribe;" and on "his consenting to pay a fixed tribute, and to deliver up the bones of Sumhur Lama, the original instigator of the war, together with his women and effects." But over the Soubah, or country of Lassa, which he came to protect for the Lama, he placed a temporal chief, to whom he committed the care of all affairs civil and political; alleging, that "the territory of Lassa had, for a great length of time, been in the firm possession of the imperial throne, and so should always remain."

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Thus those regions, which had been hitherto considered as pertaining to the great Lama, the supreme sovereign in regard to spiritual affairs, and, in regard to temporal, under the protection only of the Emperor of China as first disciple and defender of the faith, were now declared an integral part of the Chinese empire. From its new boundary, on the side of Hindostan, to the British possessions there, only a narrow territory intervenes, about one degree in latitude, part of which constitutes Napaul. The western boundary of China had already approached somewhat to the eastern limits of Hindostan since the year 1773, when a Chinese general, *Akoni*, entirely subdued a people called *Miaotse*, part of whom had lived within the ancient boundaries of the Chinese empire, but had rebelled; and part inhabited an independent territory to the westward of it. Should an interference take place in future, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, in the dissensions which frequently arise between the princes possessing the countries lying along the eastern limits of Hindostan, as has now happened in relation to its northern neighbours, there may be occasion for much mutual discussion and explanation between the British and Chinese governments; and no slight precaution may be necessary on their parts to avoid being involved in the quarrels of their respective dependents or allies. The immediate intercourse, however, between the frontiers of Hindostan and China, was not increased by the late events in



Thibet and Napaul; for the Chinese general, who was victorious over the latter, became as jealous, as its former sovereigns are described to have been, of any visit from an English envoy; and he wrote a very civil letter to dissuade the Governor General from sending the deputation thither which he had intended. “As the “journey,” the Chinese general observed, “from the “Governor’s place of residence to Napaul was very “long, it were putting himself to great inconvenience “to depute a person thither. What necessity was there “to put himself to inconvenience? He hoped the Governor would alter his intention: no doubt his letter “to the Rajah had its due effect, and induced him to “yield obedience to the imperial yoke.” The letter concluded with acknowledgments of the Governor General’s “uprightness, attachment, and friendliness.” If a copy of this letter had reached the Emperor’s hands, it would effectually have refuted any account, he might have formerly received, of English succours having been afforded to his enemy; but the writer of it was not probably disposed to acknowledge, by the transmission of such a letter to his Imperial Majesty, the futility of the reports that had been previously made to him: and there was little likelihood of his learning it through any other channel, as no communication whatever had then as yet taken place between the courts of London and Pekin.

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Had not the Embassy intended for China in 1787

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been defeated, as mentioned in the beginning of this work, by the untimely decease of the gentleman then appointed as British minister to the court of Peking, his presence there would have probably prevented any misunderstanding taking effect on occasion of the Thibet war. It is even possible, that no such war would have been carried on. Nothing but the repeated provocations of the Napaul Rajah could have forced the Emperor to engage in an undertaking so distant and precarious. In his former war against the Eleuths in Tartary, tho it terminated in the subjugation of their country, it was waged, in the course of it, with opposite successes. His troops were often worsted. A great proportion of them perished. The contest lasted a long time ; and cost immense sums. His Chinese ministers were averse from wars ; and his own advanced age took, latterly, much away from the relish of any conquest. Had any person from the King of Great Britain been accredited in China, in 1789 or 1790, by whose means the government of Bengal might have been requested to exert its influence, at an early period, with the Rajah of Napaul, to desist from his predatory incursions into Thibet, the Emperor would have preferred such a method of attaining his purpose, without a risk, upon the same principle which induced afterwards the commander of his forces to apply to the Governor of Bengal to bring about the same effect. And Thibet might have been productive of more advantage



to Bengal in its independent state, than as a province of another empire. Passage up  
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If, fortunately, the events of the Thibet war had reached the present Ambassador before he had left the neighbourhood of Canton, he might have been enabled to destroy the effect of any misrepresentation of them; but in the present instance, he was yet utterly unacquainted with every circumstance from whence the late groundless and injurious rumour against the English had arisen; and had not, therefore, the common resources for refuting calumny, by a statement of the particulars to which it was meant to be applied. The pains which, indeed, his Excellency took to convince his principal Chinese fellow-travellers, that the story they had heard could have no foundation, had, from their confidence in his assertions, their full effect on their own minds; but they were not authorized to hold any immediate communication with the court; and were apprehensive that, prejudiced as it was, a favourable declaration on their part would be construed into a corrupt partiality for their new acquaintance. They had beside, being of a Chinese race as well as birth, no sort of influence over the Tartar Legate; a secret but strong antipathy still subsisting between those two nations.

To the Legate, who was alone allowed to correspond with the government concerning the Embassy, and whose good will the Ambassador tried every means to

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cultivate, he took opportunities of conveying information of the great distance from the chief English settlement of Calcutta to Napaul and Thibet, and the slight connection of the English with either country in comparison of their trade to Canton, and their preferable attention consequently to the latter object. He mentioned also the instructions given constantly to the Governor of Bengal, to be particularly attentive to such of its neighbours as were amicably connected with, or under the protection of, the Chinese empire. A more direct denial of having given succour to its enemies, when no accusation was brought forward, or even the belief of any ground for it avowed, might serve only to enforce the probability of the fact on the temper with which the Ambassador had to deal. Whatever effect his observations might have had on the opinion of the Legate on this particular point, they produced little alteration on him in other respects; and he showed no disposition to make a favourable or just representation of the English, or of the Embassy. From suspicion, or ill-will on his own part, he declined even forwarding the Ambassador's letters to Sir Erasmus Gower, by the messengers of government, tho he knew that the Emperor had been pleased to transmit a packet to his Excellency, which had beencarried to Zhe-hol. There was no opportunity of conveyance without the Legate's permission; and an attempt to obtain it, for the purpose of communicating



with the Company's Commissioners at Canton, was likewise fruitless. The Embassy was thus shut out from the most necessary intercourse, with little prospect of redress; the Legate being the intimate creature of the Col-lao, who was the prime minister of the empire; and the intentions of the one might be conjectured from the conduct of the other.

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Such were the untoward circumstances which presented themselves before the Embassy had yet reached the capital. It had moved only by slow degrees against the current of the river. In this course, large junks were constantly met passing from Tong-choo-foo, in the neighbourhood of Peking, where they had carried grain; and were returning before the approach of the winter season, during which the river is constantly frozen over, tho within the fortieth degree of north latitude. Most of those large junks were in the service of government, and employed in carrying such of the taxes as were taken in kind: a mode of taxation which had, at least, the advantage of preventing the possibility of individuals being forced to sell the produce of their labour at an under value, in order to discharge the amount of the impost, were it exacted in coin or in silver bullion, which is here equally current. Part of the taxes received in grain is destined to replenish the granaries which are erected in every province of the empire, in order to mitigate the evil of a scarcity, where there is little recourse to foreign markets.

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Upon the deck of each of these large junks is built a long range of apartments, containing several families. It was calculated, that every one of these vessels contained not less than fifty persons; and that there were, between Tong-choo-foo and Tien-sing, at least one thousand such grain junks; thus containing fifty thousand inhabitants. An immense number of various other kinds of craft were continually passing to and fro, or lying before the towns bordering upon the river; and the number of people in them could not be less than fifty thousand more. So that upon a branch of a single river, the population of its moveable habitations amounted to one hundred thousand persons.

In this shallow river, the mud, or diluted clay, raised from its bottom by the large vessels passing over it, or detached from its loose banks, or wafted down from the distant hills, is suspended in the water in such large quantities, as to render it scarcely potable. But it is quickly refined for use by the following simple process. A small lump of alum is put into the hollow joint of a bamboo, which is perforated with several holes. The water taken from the river is stirred about with this bamboo for three or four minutes, during which the earthy particles uniting with the alum are precipitated to the bottom, leaving the water above them clear and pure. This method was not applied in consequence of any general knowledge of the elective attractions of dif-



ferent bodies, and is scarcely known to chemists, even where that theory is familiar. Practical men are satisfied to make trials for answering the particular purpose they have in view. The numerous Chinese, who subsist upon the rivers, sought, until they found, the means of rendering the water in them, fit to become a wholesome beverage. The water of the Nile is also said to be purified by alum. And its use for the same purpose has been discovered in Europe, likewise, by the workmen employed in different manufactures, in which the mixture of clay and other earths in water was injurious.

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Persons of rank in China are so careful about the quality of the water intended for their own consumption, that they seldom drink any without its being distilled; and every Chinese infuses tea, or some other vegetable supposed to be salubrious, in the water which he uses. It is generally taken hot, as is indeed wine, and every other liquid; and habit has that effect upon the senses, that fermented and spirituous liquors made hot, are thought agreeable as well as salutary. In other climates warm beverages are also found most wholesome. In the hot climate of Hindostan, choultries or inns are founded along some of the public roads, as buildings for pious uses are elsewhere. In those choultries weak but warmed liquors are provided for all travellers. The Chinese enjoy, however, in hot weather, the grateful coolness produced by ice, seldom, indeed, applied to any of their

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liquors; but principally to fruit and sweetmeats, which thus may be justly termed refreshments. In bowls, which are generally used in China instead of dishes, alternate layers were placed of ice, together with kernels of apricots and walnuts, or the seeds and slices of the hairy root of the lien-wha, or *nymphaea nelumbo*, probably the lotus of the Egyptians; and were frequently presented to the Ambassador and his suite at breakfasts, given by some of the principal mandarines.

Tho tea be the general beverage of all the Chinese; tho they drink it between meals, and present it to their guests on visits at all hours, yet strong, and particularly spirituous, liquors are sometimes relished by them, especially in the northern provinces. When the company begins to be exhilarated, and some of the party are desirous of retiring, the same compulsory devices are described to be practised for preventing their departure, or recalling them, if already going away, as have sometimes been used on similar occasions of convivial merriment in Europe.

As to eating, the mandarines did indulge themselves in habits of luxury. They ate several meals, each day, of animal food highly seasoned; each meal consisting of several courses. They employed part of their intervals of leisure in smoking tobacco mixed with odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium, or in chewing the areca nut. Tho books of entertainment,



such as histories, plays, and novels, abound in China, reading was not there become so universal an amusement, as it is now in all the polished parts of Europe. Sedentary gratifications of the senses, rather than exercises of the body, or pleasures of the mind, seemed to be the resources principally thought of in vacant hours.

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The chief mandarines, Chow and Van Ta-zhin, passed much time in conversation with the Ambassador and the gentlemen of the Embassy, with the assistance of the interpreters. The mandarines asked, indeed, fewer questions than they answered. The Chinese are, perhaps of any people, the most eager in their curiosity about foreigners coming amongst them; it being a sight so rare, except at Canton. But about the countries of such foreigners they are more indifferent. They have been always in the habit of confining their ideas to their own country, emphatically styled *the middle kingdom*. No Chinese ever thinks of quitting it, except a few, of desperate fortunes, residing near the sea coast, or of seafaring men, who form a class apart, in great measure, from society. Even foreign commodities consumed in China remind them only of Canton, from whence they receive them as if produced in it. Regions out of Asia are scarcely mentioned in their books, or noticed on their distorted maps. They have, indeed, some florid descriptions of Hindostan; and the same story is mentioned, by Chinese writers, which is inserted in the Abbé Raynal's relation of both the Indies. The story relates to a district in Hindostan,

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of which the government is described to have been once so perfect, and the people so strictly honest, that a purse or a jewel dropped upon the road, would be left by the finder on the nearest conspicuous spot, that the loser might the more easily discover it on missing, and returning to search for, his lost treasure. The Chinese did not certainly borrow this account from the French author, nor the latter from the former; and the coincidence leads to hope that there was some foundation in truth for it.

With regard to more distant regions, no doubt, persons in the government of China must have a knowledge of its external relations; as mercantile men must have of the places with which their trade connects them. The other classes of society have scarcely any thing to interest them out of China; and the bulk of the people would perhaps be little gratified, in respect to foreign countries, with any thing less than tales of wonders not performed at home, or of powers exerted beyond the ordinary boundaries of nature.

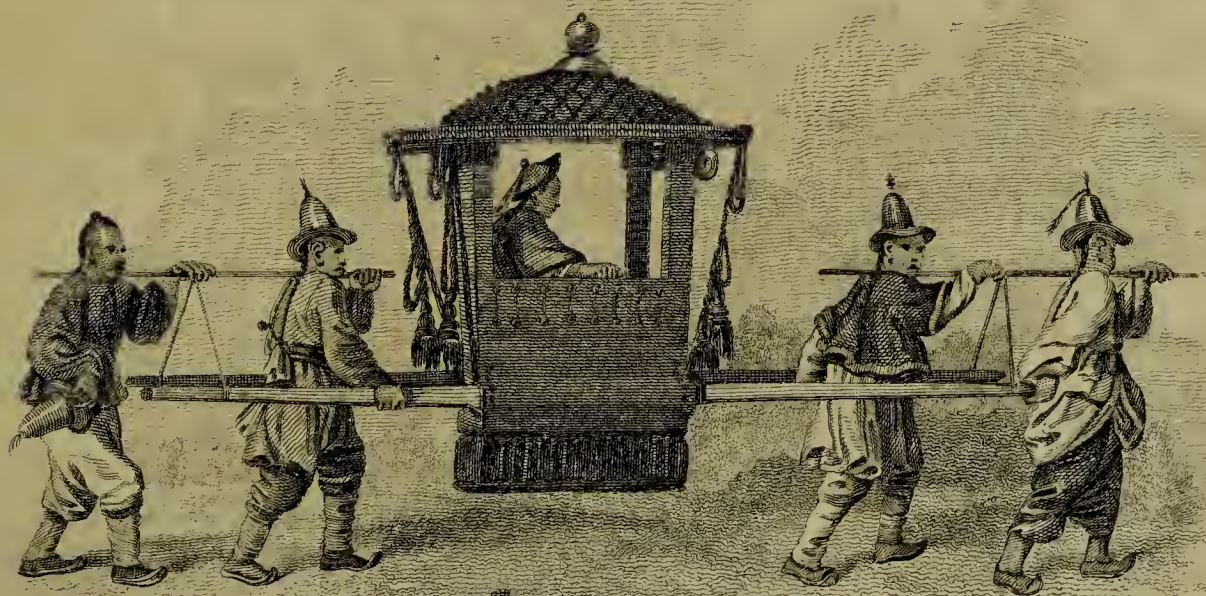
To the mandarines who conducted the Embassy, it afforded sufficient pleasure to satisfy the inquiries made about their own country, as far as they were able. Tho in their opinions they were partial and national; in regard to facts, they seemed to endeavour at being correct. Chow-ta-zhin particularly, who was a man of business, founded his information generally upon public documents. The Legate seldom passed into familiar converse with the Ambassador; nor was it deemed expedient to



appear inquisitive about China in his presence. He visited his Excellency almost every day, tho he travelled part of the way by land, and with no inconsiderable pomp. He was preceded by soldiers or servants, announcing loudly his approach, and clearing the way before him. His carriage was such a sedan chair as has been mentioned in the first volume, but more ornamented with silken tassels. It was borne by four men, whose strength was applied in the following manner, as represented in the annexed engraving. The poles of the chair were suspended at their extremities by cords; in the bend of which short bamboos were passed. The ends

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

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Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

of each bamboo rested upon the shoulders of the chairmen, of whom two supported and divided the weight before the chair, and two behind. Four others were in attendance to relieve them. Servants carrying umbrellas, and others standards of honour, accompanied the chair, which was followed by several men on horseback. It seldom indeed happens that any mandarine of rank either travels, or is even seen out of his own house, without a train suitable to his dignity. So essential it is thought for men in office to preserve, unremittingly, the appearances calculated to inspire the vulgar with respect, that for such persons to walk the streets, at any time, without attendants, would be considered as a sort of degradation. They were therefore careful to maintain all the importance of their station, and to exact from the people all the honours appertaining to it. This habit rendered them the more attentive in paying those they considered due to others, and especially to foreigners of distinction received amongst them.

At every military post, and every town of note along the river, troops were drawn out while the yachts carrying the Embassy were passing, and a salute of three guns was fired. These guns were a kind of short petards, intended only for salutes. A small quantity of gunpowder is put into them. They are fixed perpendicularly in the ground, and rammed full of sand or earth. After the salutes were over, the gaudy dresses or uniform of the



soldiers, worn upon extraordinary occasions, together with their arms, were said to be deposited in the storehouse of the station until they should again be wanted. In the intervals the men assume not always a military, but often the common, habit of the people, and are occupied in manufactures, or the cultivation of the land. They certainly thus become more useful in time of peace; but must have less of the spirit and discipline which fit for scenes of war. The pay and allowances of the soldiery exceed the usual earnings of common men. Some shadow likewise of that power, which they display when under the orders of their officers, follows them in their separate capacity: and, upon the whole, to be enlisted is considered as, in some sort, to be preferred; and it requires neither force nor stratagem to recruit the Chinese army.

Of military posts, some were passed every day, when the high road happened to approach the river. This road was good, but very narrow. Few carriages were seen upon it, and none with more than two wheels, either for carrying goods or travellers. Both were equally without springs. Gentlemen travel generally on horseback, or in sedan chairs, or chair-palanquins; and ladies are mostly carried in close litters, suspended between mules or horses. But these conveyances were little used except for short distances; or in places remote from rivers or canals. Semedo asserts, in his History of China, that formerly coaches were much in use there, from

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

whence they were first introduced into Italy in the sixteenth century: tho the Chinese have laid them since aside, as inconvenient and expensive.

The custom mentioned by some old travellers, of the Chinese applying sails to carriages by land is still, in some degree, retained. It was probably observed in parts less fertile than the borders of the Pei-ho; for Milton mentions—

“ The barren plains  
“ Of Sericana, where Chineses drive  
“ With sails and wind their cany waggons light.”

Those cany waggons are small carts, or double barrows, of bamboo, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progress of such a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harnessed to it, while another keeps it steady from behind, beside assisting in pushing it forward. The sail, when the wind is favourable, saves the labour of the former of these two men. It consists only of a mat, fixed between two poles rising from the opposite sides of the cart. This simple contrivance can only be of use when the cart is intended to run before the wind; and was probably the resource of an individual, who wished to have no companion of his labour and partner of his profits, or who happened not to meet one. Complicated machines, susceptible of being applied to important purposes, are most



likely to owe their origin to countries where the mind is excited to exertion, and invention upon the stretch, by the prospect of large emoluments arising from discoveries for improving the quality of any article of consumption, or for supplying it in more considerable quantities, or at a cheaper rate, than by the methods before in practice.

Passage up  
the Pei-ho.

No deficiency appeared in the construction of the bridges which were observed along the Pei-ho. None, indeed, were erected over it, which might have impeded its navigation; but several of hewn stone were thrown over branches that ran into it, or canals that were dug from it. The remains of a bridge in one place indicated the force of an inundation violent enough to carry a part of it away. Near it was a considerable palace, surrounded by a garden and pleasure grounds, inclosed within a wall, with a treble gate towards the water side. It was said to belong to the Emperor, and to be the occasional residence of some part of his family. No private property seemed to be adorned for pleasure. Every large building was said to be destined for some public use; or for the habitation of a man in office. Such, if there were, to whom fortunes had descended from their ancestors, but who held no department under government, were certainly not ostentatious in their possessions; and enjoyed their riches in obscurity.

The persons composing the Embassy had scarcely

Departure of  
squadron  
from the gulf. seen a cloud moving in the sky since their arrival in China; nor was there a hillock on any side between them and the horizon, until the fourth day of their departure from Tien-sing, when some high blue mountains were seen rising from the north-west. They indicated the approach to Peking, beyond which they were situated. Two days afterwards, on the sixteenth of August, the yachts came to anchor within twelve miles of that great capital, and within half a mile of the city of Tong-choo-foo, beyond which the Pei-ho was no longer navigable unless for boats; and the Embassy ceased travelling by water for some time. The distance from Tien-sing to Tong-choo-foo is about ninety miles.

The former companions of the Embassy who remained in the *Lion* and *Hindustan*, did not long continue in the gulf of Pe-che-lee. While they were at anchor there, they ascertained the following points.

Latitude of the anchorage	-	38° 51' $\frac{1}{2}$ north.
Longitude by time-keeper	-	117 50 east.
Longitude by the mean of several observations of the sun and moon, on the 29th of July	- -	118 7 east.
Longitude by observations of the same on the 30th	- - -	117 58 east.
Mean of observations of both days		118 2' 30" east.
Variation of the compass, by amplitude, on the 27th of July	-	1 30 west.



And on the 28th	-	-	-	1° 20' west.	Departure of squadron from the gulf.
Latitude of the sandy islands in the gulf, named by the old pilot, Sha- loo-poo-tien	-	-	-	39 1 north.	
Longitude of the same by time-keeper	118	40	east.		
Latitude of the mouth of the Pei-ho, or white river	-	-	-	39 0 north.	

The rise and fall of the tides at the anchorage, were about eight or nine feet. They ebbed and flowed irregularly, and from every point of the compass; but the strength of the flood tide was from the south-east, and of the ebb from the north-west. On the sixth of August (being the day of new moon) the flood tide made at nine hours forty minutes in the morning; it rose ten feet, and was high water at one o'clock; and remained without turning till four in the afternoon. The wind was then east, and moderate. There was no perceptible difference in the observation of the tide on the following day. These circumstances were accurately noticed upon the suggestion of a foreign astronomer of eminence, who wished those facts to be ascertained, as necessary towards the completion of a theory of the tides in which he was engaged.

On the eighth of August the ships set sail, and on the twelfth passed through the straits of Mi-a-tao. They were accompanied through the gulf by a vast number of junks of different sizes, some with four stout masts tapering regularly to the head, and none of them sup-

Departure of  
squadron  
from the gulf.

ported by shrouds, but fixed by a strong massy step in the kelson below, and kept firm by large wedges driven in at the partners above. Their sails were some of matting, others of cotton. Their cables and ties were mostly made of hemp, apparently well manufactured. The smallest only of the junks passed through the Mi-a-tao strait. The others went to the northward of the islands that bear the same name, which experience had, no doubt, shown to be the safest passage.

At Ten-choo-foo Sir Erasmus Gower experienced the good effects of the orders that had been forwarded in his favour by the Viceroy of Pe-che-lee. A supply was furnished of provisions and live stock for all his people. From thence he proceeded to examine the bay of Ki-san-seu, sometimes called Zeu-a-tao bay. He arrived there the fifteenth of August, and “ found the “ bay sufficiently secure in all directions for a well- “ found ship to winter in; the bay extensive; depth of “ water from nine to five fathoms, the ground tough “ and very holding.” Wood for fuel, and fresh water were, however, at a distance in the bay. The fatigue of obtaining these might prove injurious to the Lion’s crew in their diminished number and weakened state. The barren aspect of the neighbouring country, and the poverty of the inhabitants, left it doubtful whether the sick and convalescents of the squadron could be easily supplied there with all things



necessary to recruit them. It was determined, therefore, to continue the voyage to Chu-san, where there was a greater likelihood of effectual assistance. The distance was short, the season favourable; and in the former passage it had been found, that “in no part of the world” was the sea so clear of danger as from Chu-san to the “river of Tien-sing.”

Departure of  
squadron  
from the gulf.

## CHAPTER II.

EMBASSY LANDS NEAR TONG-CHOO-FOO. PROCEEDS THROUGH PEKIN TO A PALACE IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD. RETURNS TO THE CAPITAL.

Tong-choo-foo.

THE Ambassador and his suite had hitherto prosecuted their journey towards the capital of China without fatigue or inconvenience. They could not but be gratified in finding, in almost every object that presented itself to them, something from its novelty striking to the eye, or otherwise interesting to the mind. Even the uniformity of the country, through which they had travelled, was a spectacle scarcely to be paralleled, for so vast an extent, elsewhere. The whole of it might be considered, according to a sacred and pleasing theory, as a part of the earth in the first state of its formation, preserving still its equal and fruitful surface, while convulsions threw the rest into inequality and deformity; but to those, who attend to the operations of nature, it appeared as a creation subsequent to the existence of the more elevated portions of the globe, and consisting of alluvial land brought down by torrents from the neighbouring mountains, and settling at the bottom of them, and gradually gaining upon the sea.

Towards the western extremity of the immense plain,



probably so formed, stands Peking, the present capital of China. The route lay through it from Tong-choo-foo <sup>Tong-choo-foo.</sup> to the autumnal palace of the Emperor, called Yuen-min-yuen, or garden of perpetual verdure, where such of the presents as could not be transported with safety to Zhe-hol, were to be deposited; and the Ambassador and his suite were to be accommodated close to Yuen-min-yuen, while preparations were making for the journey into Tartary.

As there was no navigable communication for vessels of the size of yachts between Peking and Tong-choo-foo, where those of the Embassy were now arrived, a temple or monastery near the latter was prepared for the reception of the persons landing from them. The baggage and presents were secured in two temporary buildings erected for the purpose, of which the materials were strong bamboos, and close matting impervious to rain. Each of those buildings was upwards of two hundred feet in length. They were situated opposite to each other; surrounded by a strong fence, and shut in with gates at the extremities. Guards were stationed round; and notices posted up forbidding all persons from approaching the place with fire. These extensive storehouses were finished in a few hours. Every thing brought by the Embassy was taken out of upwards of thirty vessels, and safely lodged in the course of a single day. But materials and labourers are, in China, at the

Tong-choo-foo.

instant command of the state. There was also a promptitude and cheerfulness of obedience, which argued a confident expectation of an adequate recompence.

The temple and monastery intended for the accommodation of the Ambassador and his suite, had been founded by a munificent bigot, some centuries ago, for the maintenance of twelve priests of the religion of Fo, which is the most general in China. This edifice is now occasionally converted into a kind of choultry, or caravansera, where travellers of rank are lodged in their journeys, upon the public service, through this part of the country. The most conspicuous deity in this temple was a personification of Providence, under a female figure, holding in her hand a circular plate, with an eye depicted on it, as appears in the annexed engraving. This figure displayed some grace and dignity.

Mr. Hickey, painter to the Embassy, and already quoted in the former volume, notices this building in the following terms: “ It is situated on a rising ground, “ of gentle ascent, about half a mile from the river, “ and close to the suburbs of Tong-choo-foo, and “ is encompassed with a high wall, in which a small “ door, opposite to the river, was guarded upon the occasion by Chinese soldiers; and before it was a tent, “ containing a band of musicians, to play whenever the “ Ambassador, or principal persons of the Embassy, “ passed by them. From this door, through several



“ court-yards and low buildings for domestic uses, a Tong-choo-foo.  
“ passage led to those particularly consecrated to the  
“ exercises of religion. They were separated from the  
“ others by a wall, in which was an opening of the  
“ exact form of a circle. The diameter was about eight  
“ feet. Beyond this circular opening were two places



W. Alexander del.

W. Angus sculp.

Tong-choo-foo.

“ or halls of worship, situated opposite to each other;  
 “ between them was a spacious area; and before each  
 “ was a portico supported by wooden columns, paint-  
 “ ed red, and varnished. The diameters of those co-  
 “ lumns were small in proportion to their length. They  
 “ tapered slightly from the base to the capital, which  
 “ was little ornamented, except with gilding. The base  
 “ rested simply, like the ancient Doric, upon the floor.  
 “ The halls of worship were of the whole height of the  
 “ fabric, without any concealment of the beams or raf-  
 “ ters of the roof. They contained several statues of  
 “ male and female deities, some carved in wood, and  
 “ painted with a variety of colours, mostly of modern  
 “ and indifferent workmanship; others were of porce-  
 “ lain.”

The numerous train of the Ambassador took up most parts of the temple that were allotted for dwelling places, and one priest only remained in it, to watch over the lamps of the shrine, and to receive his Excellency's commands, while the rest retired to a monastery in the neighbourhood; but attended in the halls of worship at stated hours. The apartments they had quitted were desirable in that warm season, on account of their coolness. At one end of each room was a platform of boards, raised upwards of a foot above the floor, such as are sometimes seen in military guard-rooms in Europe. A thick woollen cloth, not woven, but worked into a firm substance, like felt for



hats, was spread upon the platform, and, with the addition of a cushion, formed the whole of the bedding, on which those priests reposed; and little more is used by other classes of society in China, where, at least the common people, continue to wear at night a considerable part of the dress which covers them in the day.

Tong-choo-  
foo.

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The separate apartments, belonging to the superiors of the monastery, were now allotted to the principal persons of the Embassy. In some of the other rooms the priests had suffered scorpions and scolopendras to harbour thro neglect. Those noisome insects were known only by description to some gentlemen of the Embassy, who had not visited the southern parts of Europe. The sight of such, for the first time, in their bedchambers, and upon their clothes, excited a degree of horror in their minds; and it seemed to them to be a sufficient objection to the country, that it produced those animals. But the apprehension was greater than the danger. For however capable of mischief, they are found to commit it, where they most abound, but very seldom; and no accident happened from them in the present instance. The heat of the weather, which was favourable to their existence, was, indeed, felt as no trifling inconvenience. The thermometer of Fahrenheit rose, in the shade, to eighty-six degrees; its violence, however, was avoided in the open courts within the precincts of the temple, by canvas sheets spread horizontally between the ridges

Tong-choo-  
foo.

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of the roofs. Cords were attached to the canvas, with a contrivance to enable persons underneath, to move it in whatever sense was necessary, to admit the air into those places from whence the sun successively withdrew.

The morning after the arrival of the Embassy, every person belonging to it partook of a banquet, to which they were invited by the mandarines. It was deemed, from the hour of giving it, a breakfast; but which, from the kinds and quantities of viands served, was equal to the most substantial repast. Tho tea be made to accompany or follow every meal, it does not constitute the principal part of any. The tables were spread in such different parts of the new storehouses, as happened to be vacant. No other place, under cover, was sufficiently ample. It seemed, in this instance, to be the Chinese etiquette, when an extraordinary mark of civility is intended, to include, with the principal object of it, the whole of his attendants of every degree. Invitations to partake of the gratifications of the table are, it seems, considered as so essential a portion of good breeding, that they were not to be omitted on the present occasion, tho the hospitality of the Emperor rendered every other a matter of supererogation.

The assemblage of people was so great upon the broad sandy beach, between the temple and the river, that booths were erected there, in which a variety of articles, but principally fruits and liquors, were exposed



to sale. The stands were shaded by quadrilateral roofs of canvas, supported from the centre by a single pole stuck into the ground. Fires for cooking victuals were made in the open air, and fire-engines were at hand, near water, in case of accidents arising from them. Those engines were constructed on principles, similar to those of Europe; and they are said to have been introduced into China, and partly from materials brought from thence; since the conflagration which happened at Canton, in Lord Anson's time, when the use of them, by his sailors, had so great an effect in stopping it. Other European improvements and conveniences will probably be adopted by the Chinese, as the intercourse with them shall increase; and the exportation of such articles alone from England is likely to add materially to its commerce.

Tong-choo-foo.

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Amongst all the crowds assembled near Tong-choo-foo, or those which the approach of the Embassy had attracted in other places, since its entrance into China, not one person in the habit of a beggar had been seen, or any one observed to solicit charity. No small portion of the people seemed, it is true, to be in a state approaching indigence; but none driven to the necessity, or inured to the habit, of craving assistance from a stranger. The present was not, indeed, one of those seasons of calamity, which destroys or diminishes the usual resources of the peasant, and drives him sometimes, even into criminal excesses, to procure subsistence. In such times,

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foo.

however, the Emperor of China always comes forward ; he orders the granaries to be opened ; he remits the taxes to those who are visited by misfortunes ; he affords assistance to enable them to retrieve their affairs : he appears to his subjects, as standing almost in the place of providence, in their favour : he is perfectly aware by how much a stronger chain he thus maintains his absolute dominion, than the dread of punishments would afford. He has shewn himself so jealous of retaining the exclusive privilege of benevolence to his subjects, that he not only rejected, but was offended at, the proposal once made to him, by some considerable merchants, to contribute towards the relief of a suffering province. He accepted, at the same time, the donation of a rich widow of Tien-sing, towards the expences of the Thibet war. But independently of any general evil, which every wise government is attentive to remedy or alleviate, accidental causes of distress, or individual failures of the means to procure subsistence, give occasion, at all times, in most other countries, to the affecting spectacle of human beings dependent for their existence, on the precarious aid of those whom they may chance to meet, but who have the power of withholding it.

The Ambassador had given gratuities, occasionally, to the people of the yachts, and others employed about the Embassy ; but such gratuities were never asked, and were unknown to the mandarines. As these had al-



ready insisted upon charging to the Emperor's account some small articles purchased by them for one or two gentlemen of the Embassy, a party of the latter went themselves to buy a few trifles in the adjoining city, for which excursion beside, their curiosity was a sufficient motive. Some of the mandarines took the trouble of accompanying them, particularly Van-ta-zhin, who was a native, and willing to do the honours, of the place. He conducted them thro a large suburb, which denoted the modern increase of Tong-choo-foo, since the erection of the walls which encompass the original buildings. The walls are of brick, substantially built, and higher than the houses they inclose, which mostly are of wood. The city walls are washed by the river on one side, and defended by a broad wet ditch on the others. There were no guns upon the ramparts, but a few swivels were placed upright near the gates. The principal streets were straight, paved with broad flag-stones, and had a raised foot-path on each side. An awning across the streets shaded them from the scorching heat of the sun's rays. Many, however, of the labouring people were naked from the waist upwards. Several extensive buildings contained grain of different kinds, of which, it was said, a provision for several years is always kept in store, for the consumption of the capital. Most of the houses had shops or working rooms in front. And an industry was displayed, such as the neighbourhood of Pekin was

Tong-choo-foo.

likely to excite. The outside of the shops was painted with a variety of lively colours, as well as gilt, with rich ensigns before them, and long labels inviting customers. Amongst the chief articles exposed to sale were tea, silks, and porcelain, imported from the southward, and furs of different kinds, most of which were brought from Tartary. It was a pleasing circumstance to observe, also, among other goods, some English cloths, tho in no considerable quantities.

The appearance of Englishmen interrupted, for a while, the usual occupations of the people. Other Europeans, mostly missionaries, had travelled thro the city; but in order to escape notice, they were clad in the long dresses of the country, and had suffered their beards to grow, in imitation of the Chinese. The short coats and smooth faces of the present strangers, formed, therefore, a new spectacle. The greatest surprise, however, was occasioned by a black servant, who attended one of the gentlemen of the party. He had been brought from Batavia, to supply the place of an European who returned home. The jet hue of his complexion, his woolly head, and features peculiar to the negroes, nothing like which had been remembered to have been seen before, in this inland part of China, led some of the spectators almost to doubt, whether he belonged to the human species; and the boys exclaimed, that it must be a black demon, *fan-quee*; but a good-humoured countenance soon re-



conciled them to his appearance, and they continued to stare at him without apprehension or dislike. Tong-choo-foo.

As the party passed along the streets, they observed, in several places on the sides of houses, the projection of a lunar eclipse, which was to happen soon afterwards. In the clear and pleasant atmosphere of this climate, all classes of men living mostly out of doors are inclined to be attentive to the appearances of the heavens, which they acquire gradually the habit of connecting with sublunary events, as if the latter were dependent upon the former. Some accidental coincidences taking place served to strengthen this belief; and the vanity of prediction had certainly its share in forming the pretended science of astrology. If eclipses, in particular, were considered as having the power to influence the operations of nature, and the transactions of mankind, the periods of their occurrence necessarily became an object of attention and solicitude; and the government of the country, ever anxious to establish the foundations of its authority in the people's opinion of its superior wisdom and constant care of their security and welfare, has converted their prejudices to account, by exclusively procuring a communication of whatever science and observation could afford in this respect. Such communications are afterwards announced to the people, as in the instance of the present projection, at the times, and with the solemnity, fitted to ensure veneration for that superintending power

Tong-choo-foo. from whence such knowledge was immediately derived to them.

It is easy to conceive also, in regard to eclipses of the sun, how much the disappearance of that luminary in the midst of its wonted career must have appeared awful (as if nature were about to be annihilated) to him who is ignorant of the natural causes of such an event, and of the certain shortness of its duration. The people of China have, from the earliest ages, considered a solar eclipse as ominous of some general calamity; and as great pains are taken to inspire them with a belief that their prosperity is owing to the wisdom and virtues of their sovereign, so they are tempted to attribute to some deficiency on his part whatever they think portentous. To this inconvenient prejudice the emperor, himself, finds it prudent to accommodate his conduct. He never ventures on any undertaking of importance at the approach of such an eclipse, but affects to withdraw himself from the presence of his courtiers, to examine strictly into his late administration of the empire, in order to correct any error, for the commission of which the eclipse may have been an admonition, and invites his subjects to offer him freely their advice.

Some of the mandarines, who accompanied the English in their excursion to Tong-choo-foo, were well aware of the true nature of eclipses. They knew also that there were Europeans employed at the Emperor's



court in the calculation of them; but believed their own countrymen capable of predicting them with tolerable exactness. It did not appear, however, from their conversation, by what means such predictions were effected. There were indeed, among the Chinese, constant and patient observers; but they did not seem to possess the science of calculation necessary to arrive at the solution of any intricate problems. Even the first operations of arithmetic were not very generally known amongst them. In the shops, where the party went to buy some trifles, regular entries were made of the articles disposed of; and the several prices were affixed in the common Chinese characters, equivalent to the words which express numbers in other languages. But not by a distinct set of figures, upon a system similar to that of those called Arabic by Europeans; of which the powers or amount increase decimally, as they are placed to the left of each other upon the same line; and to which the usual operations of arithmetic may apply. The Chinese calculate by the assistance of a machine, called by them *swan-pan*, in which balls are strung upon wires in different columns, and arranged upon the plan of Arabic figures, the balls representing units in the first column to the right, with a decuple progression of the others from right to left.

The decimal multiplication and subdivision of quantities and measures, used almost in every instance by

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Tong-choo-  
foo.

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the Chinese, greatly simplifies their computations. Thus, for example, a *leang*, which is generally equal to an ounce of silver, is subdivided into ten *chen*, the *chen* into ten *fen*, and the *fen* into ten *lee*. The ideal subdivisions of money descend much lower, but always, as well as in increasing quantities, in the same decimal proportions. A *lee*, or thousandth part of a *leang*, is an actual coin of copper, far from being pure. It is of a circular form, with a square hole in the middle, for the convenience of being strung together upon a sort of pack-thread; and tens and multiples of tens pass thus current; often a smaller number only is transferred unstrung. A coin of such little value is convenient to the lower part of the people, who thus can buy as small a quantity of merchandise as they please, or is suitable to their situation; and in lieu of which, for an article wanted, a higher price might sometimes be demanded, if payment of a smaller could not be effected for want of change. Tea, like beer in England, is sold in public houses in every town, and along public roads, and the banks of rivers and canals. In these a single cup is sold for a single *lee*; nor is it unusual for the burdened and wearied traveller to lay down his load, refresh himself with one cup of warm tea, and then pursue his journey.

These *lees*, collectively called *chen*, form, in fact, the only standard coin in China. Government may have considered, that one material only can, in strict-



ness, form a standard coin. For the relative values of two or more metals, for example, taken separately, are liable to vary from the different proportions which may occasionally take place between the demand for them in the market, for other uses than as a medium of exchange, and the quantities of them respectively exposed to sale; so that a piece of money, of one metal, may in fact become worth more or less than that of another metal, which the standard had made of equal value to it, according to the prices of the metals at the time of the adjustment.

Silver is more properly, among the Chinese, a merchandise. None of it is coined, but large payments are made with lumps of it in the form of the crucibles in which it was refined, and with the stamp of a single character upon it, to ascertain its weight, mostly of ten ounces.

The value of silver, in the current coin, varies according to the relative scarcity or plenty of that metal issued from the Imperial treasury. Spanish dollars are common throughout all Asia; and are equally well known to the pilot of Cochin-china, as mentioned in the former volume, and to the shopkeepers of Tong-choo-foo. Gold is seldom seen in the transactions of commerce, tho it be, occasionally, employed in the luxuries of dress and furniture. In general, the value of silver has borne a much greater proportion to that of gold in China than in Europe, except where an extraordinary demand for the latter, by foreign merchants,

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foo.

has increased the rate of it. That effect, indeed, was supposed likewise to have been produced by the extraordinary quantity of gold employed in the decoration of Lama temples, by the Emperor, both in China and in Tartary.

Upon the decease of a sovereign of China, the coin, bearing the impression of his name, is in some degree depreciated. The material, being of such a base alloy, is little convertible to use; and specimens remaining of ancient coins are common in the country. There are a few curious Chinese who collect coins; but none prize them to the degree of tempting artists to make counterfeits of them. A series of them, therefore, corresponding to the sovereigns mentioned in the annals of the empire, may be considered as a confirmation of their history; and a series, not indeed complete, but mounting upwards beyond the Christian era, has been brought to Europe.

The histories of China state, and the traditional accounts confirm, the natural propensity of the Chinese emperors to transmit their names and fame, by the most durable monuments, to posterity; but it has been hitherto the cruel policy of every dynasty, or new family mounting the throne of China, both to destroy the remaining branches of the former race, and to level the edifices dedicated to their memory. The ancient fabrics, therefore, which have been suffered to subsist, bear no traces of the persons by whom they were erected. One that has



very much the appearance of antiquity, stands in a remote corner of Tong-choo-foo, to which it does not seem to bear the least relation, being so situated as not to serve the purpose of any ornament; and is so far from being useful, that its original destination is not known with certainty. It is built of brick, and in its exterior form resembles what are called in Europe Chinese pagodas, and supposed to be places of religious worship. But the present building cannot have had such a destination; being, tho of considerable diameter, perfectly solid in the first and second story. There is not even the appearance of a door or window in either. There are no remains of steps, or other means of ascent to the third story, in which there is a door; the several stories, eleven in number, distinguished by a belt of brick on the outside, continue to be entire, tho weeds and shrubs are growing out of many parts of them. It is thought most probable that this building was erected prior to the existence of Tong-choo-foo, and perhaps of the great Chinese wall, and was intended for a watch tower, to guard against the sudden approach of the Tartar enemy.

Of those circular and lofty edifices, by Europeans termed pagodas, there are several kinds, and dedicated to several uses in China; but none to religious worship. The temples which are consecrated to such a purpose differ little in height from common dwelling houses, as in the instance of the Ambassador's momentary residence

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near Tong-choo-foo. The presence of foreigners there did not prevent the usual affluence of devotees. The Chinese interpreter of the Embassy, who was a most zealous Christian of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and himself a priest of that communion, saw, with regret, the English curiously examining the images, or attending to the ceremonies of the religion of Fo, lest they should perceive the resemblance between its exterior forms and those in his own church. Such resemblance had been, indeed, already thought so striking, that some of the missionaries conjectured that the Chinese had formerly received a glimpse of Christianity from the Nestorians, by the way of Tartary; others that Saint Thomas the Apostle had been amongst them; but the missionary Prémare could account for it no otherwise than by supposing it to have been a trick of the Devil to mortify the Jesuits. One of them observes, that the likeness is so strong between the apparent worship of many of the priests of Fo, and that which is exhibited in churches of the Roman faith, that a Chinese conveyed into one of the latter, might imagine the votaries he saw were then adoring the deities of his own country. On the altar of a Chinese temple, behind a screen, is frequently a representation which might answer for that of the Virgin Mary, in the person of *Shin-moo*, or the sacred mother, sitting in an alcove with a child in her arms, and rays proceeding from a circle, which are called a



glory, round her head, with tapers burning constantly before her. The long coarse gowns of the Ho-shaungs, or priests of Fo, bound with cords round the waist, would almost equally suit the friars of the order of St. Francis. The former live, like the latter, in a state of celibacy, reside in monasteries together, and impose, occasionally, upon themselves voluntary penance, and rigorous abstinence.

The temples of Fo abound with more images than are found in most Christian churches; and some that bear a greater analogy to the ancient than to the present worship of the Romans. One figure, representing a female, was thought to be something similar to Lucina, and is particularly addressed by unmarried women wanting husbands, and married women wanting children. The doctrine of Fo, admitting of a subordinate deity particularly propitious to every wish which can be formed in the human mind, would scarcely fail to spread among those classes of the people who are not satisfied with their prospects, as resulting from the natural causes of events. Its progress is not obstructed by any measures of the government of the country, which does not interfere with mere opinions. It prohibits no belief which is not supposed to affect the tranquillity of society.

There is in China no state religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The Emperor is of one faith; many of the mandarines of another; and the ma-

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jority of the common people of a third, which is that of Fo. This last class, the least capable, from ignorance, of explaining the phenomena of nature, and the most exposed to wants which it cannot supply by ordinary means, is willing to recur to the supposition of extraordinary powers, which may operate the effects it cannot explain, and grant the requests which it cannot otherwise obtain.

No people are, in fact, more superstitious than the common Chinese. Beside the habitual offices of devotion on the part of the priests and females, the temples are particularly frequented by the disciples of Fo, previously to any undertaking of importance; whether to marry, or go a journey, or conclude a bargain, or change situation, or for any other material event in life, it is necessary first to consult the superintendant deity. This is performed by various methods. Some place a parcel of consecrated sticks, differently marked and numbered, which the consultant, kneeling before the altar, shakes in a hollow bamboo, until one of them falls on the ground; its mark is examined, and referred to a correspondent mark in a book which the priest holds open, and sometimes even it is written upon a sheet of paper pasted upon the inside of the temple. Polygonal pieces of wood are by others thrown into the air. Each side has its particular mark; the side that is uppermost when fallen on the floor, is in like manner referred to its correspondent



mark in the book or sheet of fate. If the first throw be favourable, the person who made it prostrates himself in gratitude, and undertakes afterwards, with confidence, the business in agitation. But if the throw should be adverse, he tries a second time, and the third throw determines, at any rate, the question. In other respects the people of the present day seem to pay little attention to their priests. The temples are, however, always open for such as choose to consult the decrees of heaven. They return thanks when the oracle proves propitious to their wishes. Yet they oftener cast lots, to know the issue of a projected enterprize, than supplicate for its being favourable; and their worship consists more in thanksgiving than in prayer.

Few Chinese are said to carry the objects, to be obtained by their devotion, beyond the benefits of this life. Yet the religion of Fo professes the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and promises happiness to the people on conditions, which were, no doubt, originally intended to consist in the performance of moral duties; but in lieu of which are too frequently substituted those of contributions towards the erection or repair of temples, the maintenance of priests, and a strict attention to particular observances. The neglect of these is announced as punishable, by the souls of the defaulters passing into the bodies of the meanest animals, in whom the sufferings are to be proportioned to the transgressions committed in the human form.

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While the English were observing some of the religious customs of the Chinese, an event took place which gave the latter an opportunity of seeing an European ceremony of religion in the funeral of a person belonging to the Embassy, who died during its short stay near Tong-choo-foo. He was an ingenious and skilful artist in brass and other metals. From Birmingham he had settled in London, where he was earning a decent subsistence, when he heard that an expedition was fitting out for China. He had conceived a notion that many improvements in the arts were practised at Peking, which were little known in Europe; among others, that of making a kind of tinsel that did not tarnish, or at least that kept without tarnishing much longer, than any that was made according to European methods. He fancied that were he acquainted with such improvements, he should be enabled to provide handsomely for his family. He did not, indeed, expect to enjoy long, himself, the benefit of any secrets he should discover. He was past the middle age; of a feeble make, and subject to many complaints. But he thought it not too much to shorten his own life, in a perilous voyage, for the sake of being able to communicate to his offspring, what would be the means of their prosperity. He offered his services to the Embassy. At Madeira the Ambassador perceiving this man's health impaired already in the passage, urged him to return home; but he was bent on the accomplishment of his purpose. He pursued the voyage; and tho he was visited by the epide-



mical diseases, by which, in the course of it, many young and robust persons rapidly lost their lives, he held out till he was within one day's journey of that capital, where he hoped to attain the object of his pursuit. But his constitution, broken down by fatigue and illness, was unable to support him any longer, and he fell a sacrifice to the affection he bore his children. He was a quiet, sober, and honest man, meek and decent in his manners: and his fellow-travellers of every rank regretted him; nor should his humble station preclude him from being mentioned, in this relation of an Embassy, to which he was attached. His name was Eades. His funeral was attended, not only by the greatest number of his late fellow-travellers, but by a vast concourse of Chinese. Every form was observed, and the ceremony performed with much gravity and decency, as well in respect to the memory of the deceased, as in compliance with the ideas of the Chinese, who are apt to consider the least slight or inattention, on such solemn occasions, as marks of barbarism and inhumanity.

This Englishman was interred in the midst of several Chinese tombs, interspersed with cypress trees, at a distance from any church or temple, but near the public road leading out of Tong-choo-foo. The Chinese burying-places are no otherwise consecrated than by the veneration of the people, the remains of whose ancestors are deposited in them. The people preserve those sacred repositories, with all the care they can afford to bestow upon them.

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They visit them annually, repair any breaches that accidents may have made, and remove any weeds that may have grown, or dirt that may have been thrown about them. Where there is uncultivable ground, it is always preferred for places of interment, as less liable to be disturbed; yet the poorest peasant will respect the spot over which a heap of earth denotes a repository of the dead beneath, until in the course of time, and by the gradual effect of the weather, the heap itself sinks into a level with the circumjacent ground.

The country about Tong-choo-foo, for several miles, is level and fertile. Some of the English gentlemen were supplied with horses, to ride about in the neighbourhood. The horses were strong and bony, generally such as appears in plate, (No. 32.) of the folio volume. The breed does not seem to have been improved by care. Mules bear a greater price than common horses, as subsisting on less food, and capable of more labour. Many of the horses were spotted as regularly as a leopard. Such were so common, as to remove the suspicion of any fraud by artificial colouring. The race of those spotted horses is supposed, among other means, to be obtained by crossing those of opposite hues. The saddle furniture differed as much from the neatness of what is made in England, as the cattle themselves from Arabian coursers. The riders met several Chinese on horseback, who, on approaching, alighted in civility to the strangers. This is a mark of respect shewn here always to superiors, and



the custom has been extended to other parts of the East. Tong-choo-foo.  
The Dutch governor and counsellors of the Indies exact, in imitation, that kind of homage from all persons resident in Batavia. It appeared indeed, from several instances, in Java, Sumatra, and Cochin-china, that China gives the *tone* to the countries bordering on the Chinese seas. The distinction of yellow colour, for example, by the Emperor, is affected by every sovereign in the eastern part of Asia.

The mixture of eastern and western customs, is to be seen sometimes in China. Thus in the neighbourhood of Tong-choo-foo, the season of the harvest gave occasion to observe, that the corn is sometimes thrashed with the common flail of Europe, and sometimes pressed out by cattle treading on the sheaf, as is described by Oriental writers. A roller is likewise moved over it by the Chinese. For these operations a platform of hard earth and sand is prepared in the open air. A machine has been always used here for winnowing corn, exactly similar to that which has been introduced, within this century, it is said, in Europe. It is probably a Chinese invention.

Indian corn and small millet formed, in this place, the principal produce of the autumn crop. There were few inclosures, and few cattle to make them necessary. Scarcely any fields to be seen in pasture. The animals necessary for tillage, or for carriage, and those destined to

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serve for food, were mostly fed in stalls, and fodder collected for them. Beans, and the finer kind of straw cut small, composed a great proportion of the food for horses. The roots of corn, and coarser stems, are frequently left to rot upon the ground for the purpose of manure.

The houses of the peasants were scattered about, instead of being united into villages. The cottages seemed to be clean and comfortable: they were without fences, gates, or other apparent precaution against wild beasts or thieves. Robbery is said to happen seldom, tho not punished by death, unless aggravated by the commission of some violent assault. The wives of the peasantry are of material assistance to their families, in addition to the rearing of their children, and the care of their domestic concerns; for they carry on most of the trades which can be exercised within doors. Not only they rear silk-worms, and spin the cotton, which last is in general use for both sexes of the people; but the women are almost the sole weavers throughout the empire. Yet few of them fail to injure their healths, or at least their active powers, by sacrificing, in imitation of females of superior rank, to the prejudice in favour of little feet; and tho the operation for this purpose is not attempted at so early a period of their infancy, or followed up afterwards with such persevering care, as in the case of ladies with whom beauty can become an object of more



attention, enough is practised to cripple and disfigure them. Tong-choo-foo.

Notwithstanding all the merit of these helpmates to their husbands, the latter arrogate an extraordinary dominion over them, and hold them at such a distance, as not always to allow them to sit at table, behind which, in such case, they attend as handmaids. This dominion is tempered, indeed, by the maxims of mild conduct in the different relations of life, inculcated from early childhood amongst the lowest as well as highest classes of society. The old persons of a family live generally with the young. The former serve to moderate any occasional impetuosity, violence, or passion of the latter. The influence of age over youth is supported by the sentiments of nature, by the habit of obedience, by the precepts of morality ingrafted in the law of the land, and by the unremitted policy and honest arts of parents to that effect. They who are past labour, deal out the rules which they had learned, and the wisdom which experience taught them, to those who are rising to manhood, or to those lately arrived at it. Plain sentences of morals are written up in the common hall, where the male branches of the family assemble. Some one, at least, is capable of reading them to the rest. In almost every house is hung up a tablet of the ancestors of the persons then residing in it. References are often made, in conversation, to their actions. Their example, as far as it

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was good, serves as an incitement to travel in the same path. The descendants from a common stock visit the tombs of their forefathers together, at stated times. This joint care, and indeed other occasions, collect and unite the most remote relations. They cannot lose sight of each other; and seldom become indifferent to their respective concerns. The child is bound to labour and to provide for his parents' maintenance and comfort, and the brother for the brother and sister that are in extreme want; the failure of which duty would be followed by such detestation, that it is not necessary to enforce it by positive law. Even the most distant kinsman, reduced to misery by accident or ill health, has a claim on his kindred for relief. Manners, stronger far than laws, and indeed inclination, produced and nurtured by intercourse and intimacy, secure assistance for him. These habits and manners fully explain the fact already mentioned, which unhappily appears extraordinary to Europeans, that no spectacles of distress are seen, to excite the compassion, and implore the casual charity of individuals. It is to be added, that this circumstance is not owing to the number of institutions of public benevolence. The wish, indeed, of the Persian monarch is not realized in China, that none should be in want of the succour administered in hospitals; but those establishments are rendered little necessary, where the link which unites all the branches of a family, brings aid to the



suffering part of it without delay, and without humili-  
liation.

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It seldom, indeed, happens that the infirmities of men, or the weakness of children, render them utterly incapable of making some return of industry for the subsistence they receive. In the manufactures carried on within doors, very material assistance may often be afforded, with little exertion of strength; and abroad, the soil is light, and tillage easy. Oxen are used for ploughing in this part of China, being too cold for buffaloes, which are preferred where they can be reared. Cattle are yoked by the neck, instead of being so by the horns, as upon the continent of Europe.

Several of the labouring men of Tong-choo-foo were engaged to convey to Hoong-ya-yuen, close to the Emperor's autumnal palace beyond Peking, the presents and the baggage of the Embassy. The weight of all those articles had been hitherto of little consideration, as they had come by sea, or upon a river. They were now to be carried by animal or human labour. Such of the presents as were liable to be injured by the rough movement of carriages without springs, were to be entrusted to men only. Some of the gentlemen belonging to the Embassy had calculated their baggage more for a sea voyage, than for land carriage. Preparing for a distant country, where they had not been before, it happened to them to provide some articles which were to be found

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in it, and others which they foresaw the possibility of wanting; but which they never came to want. Upon a calculation of the necessary means for conveying all the baggage and presents, the mandarines were obliged to order near ninety small waggons, forty hand-carts or barrows, upwards of two hundred horses, and within a very few of three thousand labouring men to serve in different capacities, beside what of all kinds was necessary for themselves, and their attendants.

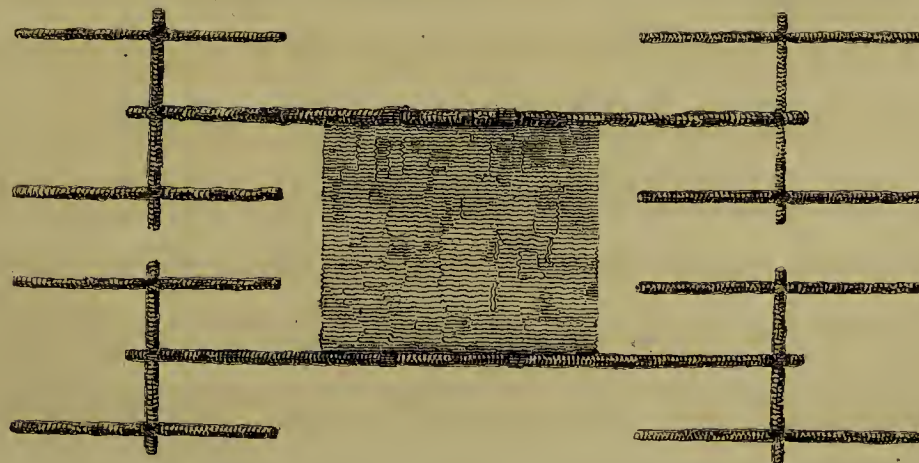
Bulky and heavy articles are carried by the mere strength of men, applied in the following manner. Two strong bamboos are fastened to the sides of the load. If two men to each bamboo, being four to the whole load, should not be sufficient, two shorter bamboos are fixed to the extremities of each of the original long ones. The eight extremities of the short bamboos are made to rest on the shoulders of eight men, in the manner apparent in the opposite engraving: and by bamboos fastened upon others, the strength of more men may be applied in a geometrical proportion, each sustaining an equal degree of pressure in raising and carrying very considerable weights.

The Ambassador and three gentlemen of his suite travelled in sedan chairs, which are the usual vehicles for persons of high rank in China, even in long journies. The other gentlemen were on horseback, as were all the mandarines: the principal among the latter rode near the chair of the Ambassador. The Chinese soldiers were



on foot, and cleared the way. The servants and privates of his Excellency's guard were in rough carriages or waggons. The chairs, the wheel-carriages, the horsemen, the presents, and the baggage, filled up the road for a considerable space. This road forms a magnificent avenue to Peking, for persons and commodities bound for that capital from the east and from the south. It is per-

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fectly level; the centre, to the width of about twenty feet, is paved with flags of granite, brought from a considerable distance, and of a size from six to sixteen feet in length, and about four feet broad. On each side of this granite pavement was a road unpaved, wide enough for carriages to cross upon it. The road was bordered in many places with trees, particularly willows of a very uncommon girth.

The travellers soon passed over a marble bridge, of which the construction appeared equal to the material. The perfection of such a fabric may be considered to consist in its being made as like as possible to that of which it supplies the want; and the present bridge seems to answer that description; for it is very wide and substantially built, over a rivulet not subject to inundations, and is little elevated above the level of the roads which it connects together.

In pursuing the journey some of the privates of the guard grew tired at being immured in waggons moving in slow procession; and alighting, continued their route on foot. They thus afforded opportunities to the crowds waiting to see the strangers, to examine their figures, countenances, and dresses. Their ruddy complexions, powdered hair, and clothes shewing the form of the limbs, drew particular attention. The weather was extremely sultry; Fahrenheit's thermometer was at ninety-six degrees in the covered carriages. They who walked



were sometimes perceived to suffer from the dust, the fatigue, the sun, and the press of people round them. Several of the spectators felt for their situation, and opened a way for them to enjoy the air. To a few of the light and ignorant they were a subject of sport.

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A halt was made to breakfast at a village on the road. The inn at which they stopped bore no resemblance to the modern edifices of that kind in England. No elegance ; no decorations ; but the rooms, tho small, were clean and cool. Every sort of refreshment was provided. From this place, if not before, the mind was at every step in anxious expectation of discovering that capital which was said to be the greatest in the world. No gentlemen's houses scattered round, no small villas announced to the party that they should see it presently. They arrived, at length, at one of the eastern suburbs. The street through which they passed was paved, and full of people. It exhibited a busy scene of manufacturers, shopkeepers, and buyers. The concourse of people did not so much appear to have been collected for the expected sight, as each being employed in his occupation ; and tho diverted for a while by the passing spectacle, returning afterwards to his own concerns. To traverse this suburb took about fifteen minutes, when the party arrived before the walls of the city of Pekin. the arrival of the Ambassador was announced by the firing of guns ; and refreshments were made ready for all

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the gentlemen, at a resting place within the gate. Near it the walls were faced with stone, elsewhere with brick. Over the gate was a watch tower several stories high. In each story were port-holes for cannon, painted, as sometimes on the sides of merchant vessels which have none. Round the gate, on the outside, was a semicircular wall, with a lateral gate, upon the plan of European fortifications, which may be a modern addition. The city walls were about forty feet in height. The parapet was deeply crenated, but had no regular embrasures; nor did any cannon appear upon the walls; but in the merlons were loopholes for archery. The thickness of the walls was at the base about twenty feet, and twelve across the terreplaine, upon which the parapet was erected. The outside of the city wall, tho not perfectly perpendicular, was smooth, but the inside was upon a considerable bevil; the rows of bricks which form it being placed, like steps, one above and behind the other, such as are described to be the faces of the Egyptian pyramids. The walls were flanked on the outside by square towers, at about sixty yards distance from each other, and projecting from the curtain between them forty or fifty feet. Several horsemen were able to ride abreast upon the ramparts, ascending to them upon slopes of earth raised on the inside.

Pekin exhibited, on the entrance into it, an appearance contrary to that of European cities, in which the streets



are often so narrow, and the houses so lofty, that from one extremity of a street the houses appear at the other to be leaning towards, and closing upon, each other. Here few of the houses were higher than one story; none more than two; while the width of the street which divided them was considerably above one hundred feet. It was airy, gay, and lightsome.

The street was unpaved, and water sprinkled on it to keep down the dust. A light handsome building was erected across it, called by the Chinese *Pai-loo*, which word has been translated to mean a triumphal arch, tho nothing like an arch is in any part of it. The whole was built of wood, and consisted of three handsome gateways, of which the middle is the highest and largest. Over these were constructed three roofs above each other, richly decorated. Large characters painted or gilt upon the uprights and the transoms, indicated the purpose for which the *pai-loo* was erected. They are meant to compliment particular persons, or to perpetuate the memory of some interesting event. The Plate (No. 31.) in the folio volume, contains a representation of such a building.

The first street extended on a line directly to the westward, until it was interrupted by the eastern wall of the imperial palace, called the yellow wall, from the colour of the small roof of varnished tiles with which the top of it is covered. Various public buildings seen at the same

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time, and considered as belonging to the Emperor, were covered in the same manner. Those roofs, uninterrupted by chimnies, and indented in the sides and ridges into gentle curves, with an effect more pleasing than would be produced by long straight lines, were adorned with a variety of figures, either in imitation of real objects, or more commonly as mere works of fancy; the whole shining like gold under a brilliant sun, immediately caught the eye with an appearance of grandeur in that part of buildings where it was not accustomed to be sought for. Immense magazines of rice were seen near the gate. And looking from it to the left, along the city wall, was perceived an elevated edifice, described as an observatory erected, in the former dynasty, by the emperor Yong-loo, to whom the chief embellishments of Peking are said to be owing.

In front of most of the houses in this main street were shops painted, gilt, and decorated like those of Tongchoo-foo, but in a grander style. Over some of them were broad terraces, covered with shrubs and flowers. Before the doors several lanterns were hung, of horn, muslin, silk, and paper, fixed to frames, in varying the form of which, the Chinese seemed to have exercised their fancy to the utmost. Outside the shops, as well as within them, was displayed a variety of goods for sale.

Several circumstances, independently of the arrival of strangers, contributed to throng so wide a street. A pro-



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cession was moving towards the gate, in which the white or bridal colour, according to European ideas, of the persons who formed it, seemed at first to announce a marriage ceremony; but the appearance of young men overwhelmed with grief shewed it to be a funeral, much more indeed than the corse itself, which was contained in a handsome square case, shaded with a canopy, painted with gay and lively colours, and preceded by standards of variegated silks. Behind it were sedan chairs covered with white cloth, containing the female relations of the deceased; the white colour, denoting in China the affliction of those who wear it, is sedulously avoided by such as wish to manifest sentiments of a contrary kind: it is therefore never seen in the ceremony of nuptials (met soon afterwards), where the lady (as yet unseen by the bridegroom) is carried in a gilt and gaudy chair, hung round with festoons of artificial flowers, and followed by relations, attendants, and servants, bearing the paraphernalia, being the only portion given with a daughter, in marriage, by her parents. The crowd was not a little increased by the mandarines of rank, appearing always with numerous attendants; and still more by circles of the populace round auctioneers, venders of medicines, fortune-tellers, singers, jugglers, and story-tellers, beguiling their hearers of a few of their chen, or copper money, intended probably for other purposes. Among the stories that caught, at this moment, the ima-

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gination of the people, the arrival of the Embassy was said to furnish no inconsiderable share. The presents brought by it to the Emperor were asserted to include whatever was rare in other countries, or not known before to the Chinese. Of the animals that were brought, it was gravely mentioned, that there was an elephant of the size of a monkey, and as fierce as a lion ; and a cock that fed on charcoal. Every thing was supposed to vary from what had been seen in Peking before, and to possess qualities different from what had been there experienced in the same substances. The sight of the strangers bringing such extraordinary curiosities disturbed, as they passed along, the several occupations of the people. They pressed forwards in great numbers. Chinese soldiers who were employed, like constables, to keep them off, used long whips, with which they seemed to aim at the foremost rank ; but with a mildness, which disposition and the long habit of authority that takes, sometimes, away from any enjoyment in exerting it, had inspired. They generally, in fact, only struck the ground.

As soon as the persons belonging to the Embassy had arrived at the eastern side of the yellow wall, they turned along it to the right, and found on its northern side much less bustle than in the former street. Instead of shops all were private houses, not conspicuous in the front. Before each house was a wall or curtain, to pre-



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vent passengers from seeing the court into which the street door opened. This wall is called the wall of *respect*. A halt was made opposite the treble gates which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace wall. It appeared to inclose a large quantity of ground. It was not level like all the lands without the wall; some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent: the earth taken to form them left broad and deep hollows, now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose with a variety of fanciful edifices, interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal palaces for the Emperor were erected. The whole had somewhat the appearance of enchantment. On the summit of the highest eminences were lofty trees surrounding summer-houses, and cabinets contrived for retreat and pleasure. One of these was pointed out as the last shocking scene of the existence of that race of emperors who had built and beautified the whole of this magnificent palace. A man, whom fortune seemed for a while to favour, as if destined to become the head of a new dynasty in China, availed himself, towards the middle of the last century, of the weakness and luxury of the court, and of that indolence which, more than even luxury, had brought the former dynasties to ruin; with an army of Chinese, first collected under the hope of bringing about better times, and kept together after-

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wards by the tempting bait of plunder, he marched to the gates of Peking. The ill-fated monarch, too slightly supported, and possessed of too little energy to resist; but with sentiments too elevated to brook submission to an enemy who had been his subject, and determined to save his offspring from the danger of dishonour, stabbed his only daughter, and put an end to his own life with a cord, in one of those edifices abovementioned, which had been erected for far other purposes. The plate (No. 29.) in the folio volume, is a view of the mount which was the scene of this melancholy event.

From the spot, whence an opportunity thus offered to take a glance, through the gates of the palace wall, of part of what was inclosed within it, the eye, turning to the north, observed through a street extending to the city wall, the great fabric, of considerable height, which includes a bell of prodigious size and cylindric form, that, struck on the outside with a wooden mallet, emits a sound distinctly heard throughout the capital. Beyond it, but more to the westward, was one of the northern gates, the watch-tower over which rendered it visible above the intermediate buildings. Proceeding on beyond the palace gates directly to the westward, between the Yellow wall and the northern buildings of the city, is a lake of some acres in extent, now, in autumn, almost entirely overspread with the peltated leaf of the *nymphaea nelumbo*, or *lien-wha* of the Chinese. The leaf of this



plant, beside the other uses for which nature had intended that part of vegetables, has from its structure, growing entirely round the stalk, the advantage of defending the flower and fruit, growing from its centre, from any contact with the water, which might injure them. The root of the lien-wha furnishes a stem which never fails to ascend in the water from whatever depth, unless in case of a sudden inundation, until it attains the surface, where its leaf expands, rests and swims upon it, and sometimes rises above it. This plant which bears the rigorous cold of the Pekin winter, is with difficulty reared in European stoves. Its flowers are as beautiful and fragrant as the seed is grateful to the taste.

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The route was continued westerly through the city. The dwelling-house of some Russians was pointed out; and what was more singular, a library of foreign manuscripts, one of which was said to be an Arabic copy of the Koran. Some Mahometans were seen, distinguished by red caps. Among the spectators of the novel sight, some women were observed. The greatest number were said to be natives of Tartary, or of a Tartar race. Their feet were not cramped, like those of the Chinese; and their shoes with broad toes, and soles above an inch in thickness, were as clumsy as those of the original Chinese ladies were diminutive. A few of the former were well dressed, with delicate features, and their complexions

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heightened with the aid of art. A thick patch of vermilion on the middle of the lower lip seemed to be a favourite mode of using paint. Some of them were sitting in covered carriages, of which, as well as of horses, there are several to be found for hire in various parts of the town. A few of the Tartar ladies were on horseback, and rode astride, like men. Tradesmen with their tools, searching for employment, and pedlars offering their wares for sale, were every where to be seen. Several of the streets were narrow, and at the entrance of them gates were erected, near which guards were stationed, it was said, to quell any occasional disturbance in the neighbourhood. Those gates are shut at night, and opened only in cases of exigence. The train of the Embassy crossed a street which extended north and south, the whole length of the Tartar city, almost four miles, and is interrupted only by several pai-loos, or triumphal fabrics; and passing by many temples and other capacious buildings and magazines, they reached, in little more than two hours from their entrance on the eastern side, to one of the western city gates, of which the Plate (No. 20.) of the folio volume is a view. Near this gate, and along the outside of the western wall, ran the small rivulet (here widened into a considerable ditch) which after almost surrounding Pekin, runs towards Tong-choofoo, and falls into the Pei-ho. The suburb beginning at this western gate, being more extensive than that thro



which they had entered into the city, took to traverse it upwards of twenty minutes.

From Pekin  
to Hoong-ya-  
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The gentlemen of the Embassy stopped at the extremity of the suburb, to communicate to each other the impressions that remained upon their minds, after passing thro Pekin. They were indeed aware, that so slight a glimpse did but little qualify them to form a judgment of it; but what they had seen, except in relation to the imperial palace, did not come up to the idea they previously had formed of the capital of China; and they imagined that a Chinese, could he be impartial, would feel a greater gratification in the sight of the ships, the bridges, the squares, several of the public buildings, and the display of wealth in the capital of Great Britain.

The Embassy found, in proceeding north-west from Pekin, the same kind of granite pavement over which they had travelled to that city from Tong-choo-foo. It led them to the open town of Hai-tien; containing few other buildings than those intended for the sale of goods, and for the accommodation of artificers, near the autumnal palace of Yuen-min-yuen, which lies a little way beyond it. Here was the residence of some Italian missionaries, who were employed as artists by the court, and probably on that account placed near it. The shops of Hai-tien, in addition to necessaries, abounded in toys and trifles, calculated to amuse the rich and idle of both

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sexes, even to cages containing insects, such as the noisy cicada, and a large species of the gryllus.

Between Hai-tien and Yuen-min-yuen, was the villa intended for the Ambassador and his suite; which was an inclosure of, at least, twelve acres. It contained a garden laid out in serpentine walks, a rivulet winding round an island, a grove of various trees interspersed with patches of grass ground, and diversified with artificial inequalities, and rocks rudely heaped upon each other. The buildings in this place consisted of several separate pavilions, erected round small courts. The apartments were handsome, and not ill contrived. Several of them were adorned with landscapes, painted in water-colours. The objects appeared to be correctly drawn; nor were the rules of perspective unattended to; but what instantly shewed them to be the works of Chinese artists, was the total neglect of light and shade. A lake was represented, with trees and houses near it, almost on every side; but a Chinese would consider it as a blemish, to render the shadow of any of those objects perceptible on the water. This place had been inhabited by Ambassadors from foreign courts, or mandarines of rank from the distant provinces, while the Emperor was at the adjoining palace; but had been now empty for some time, and wanted repairs.

Between the governor of that palace and the Ambassador, compliments of civility were immediately inter-



changed; and the former desired to take the opinion of the latter, as to the most advantageous distribution of the presents intended to be left there. It was decided that the principal articles should be placed on each side of the throne, in one of the halls of audience. The outside of this hall had a magnificent appearance. The approach to it was thro three quadrangular courts, surrounded by buildings, separated from each other. It was erected upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the court before it. Its projecting roof was supported upon two rows of large wooden columns, the shafts of which were painted red, and varnished; and the capitals ornamented with various scrolls and devices, in vivid colouring, particularly with dragons, whose feet were armed with five claws each. Dragons may be marked on the edifices and furniture of the princes of the Emperor's court, but with four claws only to their feet; the fifth is reserved for his Imperial Majesty alone. A net of gilt wire, scarcely perceptible, is spread over the whole entablature of the building, to prevent birds from resting upon any of the projecting points, of which a great number are brought out in a regular order. The hall exceeds, in the inside, one hundred feet in length; in breadth it is upwards of forty, and in height above twenty feet. Between the inner row of columns on the southern side were pannels, the whole, or any part of which, might be kept open, or shut, at

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pleasure. No. 21 and 22, in the folio volume, are a plan and view of the hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen.

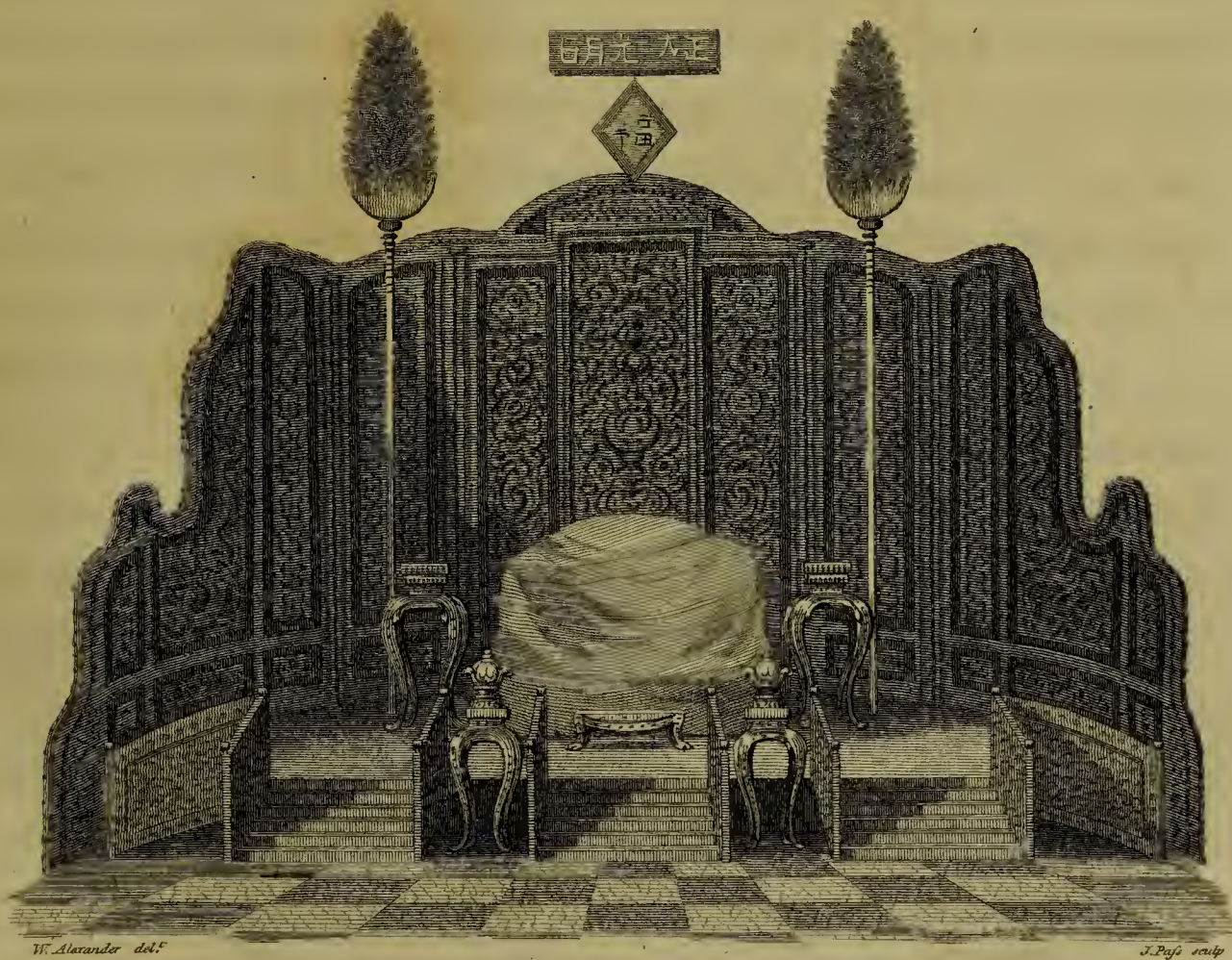
This spacious and lightsome hall was well calculated to display the presents; nothing being left in it besides the throne, a few great jars of ancient porcelain, and a musical clock, playing twelve old English tunes, and made, as was marked upon it, in the beginning of this century, by *George Clarke, of Leaden-hall-street, London*.

The throne, of which an engraving is annexed, was placed in a recess. A few steps ascended to it in front, and others on each side. It was not rich or gaudy. Over it were the Chinese characters of glory and perfection. On each side were tripods, and vessels of incense. Before it was a small table, almost to be called an altar, for offerings of tea and fruit to the spirit of the absent Emperor. It happened to be a day of sacrifice, being the time of the full moon, which is a religious festival with the followers of Fo. Among the many names belonging to his Imperial Majesty in his sovereign capacity, is one, which not merely coincides in sound with that by which the Deity is sometimes known in China; but the composition of the Chinese written character, denoting both, and which always is supposed to bear some allusion to the object intended to be conveyed by it, is the same precisely. This circumstance must have been, no doubt, occasioned by a partial consideration of the attribute of power, which, as applied to the moral



state and condition of man in China, resides, almost entirely, in the person of the sovereign. The rest of the world is, in the contemplation of a vast multitude of his subjects, of little significance; and they consider his dominion, as virtually extending over the whole. With these ideas, they scarcely can distinguish the relations or duties of other nations or individuals towards him, from their own, which are, indeed, unbounded. If they sacrifice to him in his absence, it is not surprising that they should adore him present. The *Ko-teou*, or adoration, as the Chinese word expresses it, consists in nine

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solemn prostrations of the body, the forehead striking the floor each time. It is difficult to imagine an exterior mark of more profound humility and submission, or which implies a more intimate consciousness of the omnipotence of that being towards whom it is made.

These prosternations are expected, as well from strangers, as from the subjects and vassals of the empire; and the Legate began now to press the Ambassador, what indeed he had signified before, to practise them in his presence before the throne. For this demand, his Excellency was not entirely unprepared; and he had the advantage of the instructions which had been given to him, in general terms, from his Majesty, in relation to requisitions of such a nature. He was well aware of the tenaciousness of the Chinese court in exacting ceremonies, of which the humiliation on the one part, contributed, perhaps, to render most embassies so grateful to the other. In this spirit, care had been taken, in consequence, no doubt, of superior orders, to write in large Chinese characters upon the flags pendent from the yachts and land carriages of the Embassy, EMBASSADOR BEARING TRIBUTE FROM THE COUNTRY OF ENGLAND. As it was possible that the meaning of those characters might not have been mentioned to his Excellency, he did not think himself bound to make a formal complaint about them; especially as a failure of redress, which he had reason to judge by no means impossible, must have put at once a



stop to his proceeding: thus giving an abrupt, as well as unsuccessful termination to his mission. These characters had however attracted notice; they were repeated in the court gazette; they would be recorded in the annals of the empire; they would find their way to Europe thro the Russians residing in the capital, and the missionaries who came there from the different countries of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It behoved, therefore, the Ambassador to be the more guarded in any act of his own, lest it should be construed as unbecoming the sovereign whom he had the honour to represent. Similar considerations had prevented the ambassador from Russia, in a former reign, from complying with the usual Chinese form of introduction, until a regular pact was made for its return, on a like occasion, to his own sovereign. It has been remarked, that he was the only minister that had hitherto gained any point in negotiations with the Chinese court. The Dutch, who, in the last century, submitted at once to every ceremony prescribed to them, in the hope of obtaining, in return, some lucrative advantages, complained of being treated with neglect, and of being dismissed without the smallest promise of any favour.

It is said that Holland had been pointed out by some of the missionaries, as a spot upon the general map, bearing a political weight proportioned only to its size. It is possible that the same rule may have been endeavoured

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to be laid down in regard to England. Such had been the inaccurate, partial, and dubious accounts, which the ministers of China had hitherto received of the real state of the several powers of Europe, that the different degrees of backwardness, on the part of their Embassadors, in complying with any claim of arrogated superiority at Peking, might serve there, in fact, as a sort of scale for judging of their relative importance. Such, on the other hand, is, in these times, the extension of the commerce of Europe, and the frequency of its communications, over the rest of the globe, that nothing can be done, in the most distant countries, by a representative from any of its courts, that is insignificant, or overlooked at any of the others. Nor can it with propriety be supposed, that the substantial welfare of a nation, is unconnected with the character and rank it maintains abroad; but if it were otherwise, there was reason to apprehend, that the disposition of the ministers of the Chinese empire, at that moment, would prevent the immediate return of favours, for any sacrifice of dignity. Beside the prejudices imbibed against the English, from their first appearance on the Chinese coast, and fortified by subsequent misrepresentations, all which it was the object of a diplomatic establishment from the British court gradually to do away, a new and unfavourable impression was made, as already mentioned, upon the occasion of the Thibet war. And, notwithstanding the hospitality with which the



present Embassy was treated, and the distinction, and even splendour, which accompanied it, there was, especially on the part of almost every Tartar chief, too perceptible a mistrust of its designs, as if they were meant to procure, in the end, some share with the Tartars themselves of the domination over China. The new French principles, no where more detested and dreaded than in China by the members of the government, coming, as well as the Embassy, from the west, was a circumstance which disinclined them from the enlargement of any communication with that quarter of the globe; and the neighbourhood of France had a tendency to injure England, at a distance from it.

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Had none of these adventitious and adverse circumstances, which could not be foreseen or prevented, taken place, yet the advantages that might result from a direct communication between the courts of London and Peking, were not expected to be sudden. Nothing could really be effectual, but a change, in favour of the English, in the minds of the Chinese government, and of that portion of the public, whose opinions insensibly influence their superiors. Such an operation must indeed be gradual; and yet material to be accomplished, both for the interest of the British territories in Hindostan, and of the British, if not of the whole European, trade with China. The Ambassador was not discouraged, as to the ultimate result, by any inauspicious appearance at the outset,

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however it might affect him personally. It was in the nature of an attempt, for establishing an amicable and useful intercourse, with a suspicious and forbidding court, that the chief difficulties were to be encountered in the beginning. The esteem and confidence of such a court were to be obtained by cultivating its good will, thro the means of proper agents, and by a well judged, courteous, but not abject, conduct. It was of the utmost consequence that, in this first Embassy, his Majesty's representative should not, in order to ensure a gracious reception for himself, consent to any unqualified act which might be proposed to him, such as should commit the dignity of his sovereign, or the honour of his country, in the eyes of other nations. If, on the contrary, both these were asserted in the first instance, his successors might afterwards, perhaps, without the hazard of improper inferences, comply with the prevalent usages of the country.

The Legate, tho apprised of what had passed in the case of the Russian embassy, had entertained the hope of prevailing over the tractable disposition of the British Ambassador to accede to his demands, without annexing any conditions to them. Such success would be no small merit with the ministers of the empire, who, more than the Emperor himself, adhered to this antiquated claim of superiority over other nations. In conjunction with his own efforts, he employed those of the manda-



rines most intimate with his Excellency. The latter acquitted themselves of this duty with no slight address and insinuation, introducing the subject by remarks upon the different customs of nations, and the advantage which travellers found in conforming to them, in whatever country they happened to reside; then, passing to the circumstance of the introduction to the Emperor, they mentioned the prostration as a ceremony to be performed of course, in which it might be unpleasant to be awkward, and that therefore it was customary to practise it some time before. They were not a little surprised to hear, what is testified by history, that for such an act done by an European (Timagoras,) in the character of ambassador to a powerful Eastern monarch, (of Persia,) he was, on his return amongst his countrymen, (the Athenians,) condemned to die, as having degraded the nation by which he had been deputed; that less condescensions, in modern times, have been strongly reprehended; the actions of men, in a public capacity, being deemed not so much their own as the acts of those they represent. Upon this principle, the usual ceremonies practised by subjects, towards their own sovereigns, were not expected from the representatives of foreign powers; there being a necessary and proper distinction to be made between acts of homage and submission, and the voluntary tokens of esteem and friendship.

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Upon this delicate occasion, his Excellency deter-

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mined to try every method in his power, to gratify the supposed wishes of the Emperor, in this respect, as far as it was possible so to do, without failing in duty towards his own sovereign. He did not, therefore, propose to avoid complying with the ceremony of prostration; but offered to go thro the whole on a condition which did not render it less personally respectful to the Emperor; yet took away the principal objection that lay to it as an act of homage or dependence in his representative character. The condition, which he offered, was, that a subject of his Imperial Majesty, of rank equal to his own, should perform, before the picture he had with him of his Majesty, dressed in his robes of state, the same ceremonies that the Ambassador should be directed to do before the Chinese throne. It was of importance that this proposal should be given in writing, and translated into Chinese accurately, lest it should fail of its effect thro any misrepresentation or mistake. The interpreter of the Embassy, tho a native of China, was utterly unacquainted with the style necessary for the palace; and in writing Latin and Italian, for the many years he had lived at Naples, he had lost the habit of writing the complicated Chinese characters, of which there are not fewer than eighty thousand. Even the European missionaries at Peking, in the employment of the court, tho they understand the language, seldom attempt to write, at least any official paper, for doing which they employ



a native bred to letters, to whom they signify the pur-  
port of what they want to have properly communicated. Yuen-min-  
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The Legate, who aimed at obtaining nothing less than an  
unconditional compliance with his proposition, was disin-  
clined to receive any stipulation in writing from the Em-  
bassador, and would offer, or willingly allow of, no assist-  
ance for such a purpose. This difficulty might however  
be surmounted thro the means of the European missiona-  
ries. His Excellency therefore urged for permission to be  
given that these should be allowed to visit him, which  
he knew they were well inclined to do. It was obvious,  
how necessary it became that some of them should aid  
his own interpreter, who sometimes suffered by ill  
health, to explain for the several gentlemen and others  
belonging to the Embassy, in the common occurrences  
of life. Among those missionaries it was likely, in con-  
sequence of the recommendatory letters brought to them  
from their superiors and friends in Italy in favour of  
the Embassy, that some could be found who would ven-  
ture to procure a faithful translation of necessary papers;  
and perhaps also be able to supply much useful infor-  
mation. After many applications on the part of the  
Embassador, several of those Europeans were introduced  
to his Excellency; but in a formal and cautious manner,  
in presence of the Legate, and having at their head the  
Portugueze jesuit, described in the Pekin missionary's  
letter. This person seemed to feel the importance, which

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the spiritual character sometimes inspires, increased by his late accession to the dignity of a blue button, which rendered him superior to his colleagues, who only had white ones. He was little qualified, however, to be an interpreter to a British minister, as he neither understood the English language, nor that which is the most generally spoken in modern Europe; but in his conversation with some of his companions, he sufficiently betrayed the adverse temper of his mind, while the missionaries from other countries gave as evident signs of good will, and of zeal for the welfare of the Embassy. Even in the desire, which this meeting afforded an opportunity of expressing, that the Embassy might remove to Peking, where preparations might be made with more convenience, than at Hoong-ya-yuen, for the journey to Zhehol, he encouraged the Legate in resisting this request, against the united voice of the other Europeans. In the only other interview which the Ambassador could have with this Portugeze, his Excellency endeavoured to reconcile him to the interest of the British nation. He changed, indeed, his tone, and gave assurance of his service, as did for him some very worthy persons of his country; but his Excellency's own interpreter was afterwards preferred by the Chinese, as his method of speaking the language, being a native, was more agreeable to them than the foreign accent of the missionary. The latter made a merit with the Ambassador, of per-



suading the Legate to write to the Emperor to know his pleasure, on the application made by his Excellency to remove to Pekin, without which, he asserted, such a measure could not be undertaken; but the governor of the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, who was in rank and power superior to the Legate, interfered on this occasion; and the removal to the capital took effect immediately. At Pekin, the whole of the Embassy was lodged in a spacious edifice, or palace, consisting of several edifices, erected by a former collector of revenues and customs of Canton, out of his extortions, it was said, from the English trade, and confiscated to the crown, in consequence of extortions upon the natives in another office nearer to the capital.

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This palace was built on the general model of the dwellings of great mandarines. The whole inclosure was in the form of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a high brick wall; the outside of which exhibited a plain blank surface, except near one of its angles, where a gateway opened into a narrow street, little promising the handsome structures within side. The wall, in its whole length, supported the upper ridge of roofs, whose lower edges, resting upon an interior wall parallel to the other, formed a long range of buildings, divided into apartments for servants and offices. The rest of the inclosure was subdivided into several quadrangular courts of different sizes. In each quadrangle were buildings erected

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upon platforms of granite, and surrounded by a colonnade. The columns were of wood, nearly sixteen feet in height, and as many inches in diameter at the lower end, decreasing to the upper extremity above one sixth. They had neither capital nor base, according to the strict meaning of those terms in the orders of Grecian architecture, nor any divisions of the space called the entablature, being plain to the very top which supports the cornice; and were without any swell at the lower end, where they were let into hollows cut into stones for their reception, and which formed a circular ring around each, somewhat in the Tuscan manner. Between the columns, for about one fourth of the length of the shaft from the cornice downwards, was carved and ornamented woodwork, which might be termed the entablature, and was of a different colour from the columns, which were universally red. This colonnade served to support that part of the roof which projected beyond the wall-plate, in a curve, turning up at the angles. By means of such roofed colonnades, every part of those extensive buildings might be visited under cover. The number of pillars throughout the whole, was not fewer than six hundred.

Annexed to the principal apartment, now destined for the Ambassador, was an elevated building, intended for the purposes of a private theatre, and concert room, with retiring apartments behind, and a gallery for spectators round it.



None of the buildings were above one story, except that which was the ladies' apartments during the residence of the owner. It was situated in the inmost quadrangle. The front consisted of one long and lofty hall, with windows of Corea paper, thro which no object could be distinguished on the other side. On the back of this hall was carried a gallery, at the height of about ten feet, which led to several small rooms, lighted only from the hall. Those inner windows were of silk gauze, stretched on frames of wood, and worked with the needle in flowers, fruit, birds, and insects, and others painted in water colours. This apartment was fitted in a neater style, tho upon a smaller scale, than most of the others. To this part of the building was a small back court with offices, the whole calculated for privacy.

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In one of the outer quadrangles was a piece of water, in the midst of which a stone room was built, exactly in the shape of one of the covered barges of the country. In others of the quadrangles were planted trees, and in the largest, a huge heap of rocks rudely piled, but firmly fixed, upon each other; and at one end was a spot laid out for a garden in miniature; but it did not appear to have been finished. The late possessor of this palace enjoyed, it seems, but little, the fruit of his iniquities; and was at this time under sentence of execution in expiation of his offences.

At this place an opportunity offered, immediately, of seeing one of the Pekin missionaries; and he, being

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well disposed towards the Embassy, was very willing to supply the translator that was wanted; and accordingly, he presented a Chinese Christian, usually employed by him, and perfectly qualified for this office; but such was the habitual fear impressed on the natives of China of affording the smallest ground of offence to persons in authority, or of being found meddling in any supposed matter of state, and such this man's particular dread of incurring the displeasure of the Legate, if his handwriting should be discovered, that he could not be persuaded to let it go abroad. It was also a fact well known, that a native of Canton had been formerly put to death for writing, there, a petition in Chinese for the English. The difficulty was however overcome by means of the youth formerly mentioned as page to the Ambassador, and who had acquired an uncommon facility in copying the Chinese character, beside having made progress enough in the language to serve sometimes as interpreter; and it was necessary to have recourse to him, for copying out every subsequent paper that there was occasion to present in the Chinese language. The process for this purpose was somewhat tedious. The English paper was first translated into Latin by Mr. Hiitner, for the use of the Ambassador's Chinese interpreter, who did not understand the original. The interpreter explained, verbally, the meaning of the Latin into the familiar language of Chinese conversation, which



the new translator transferred into the proper style of official papers. The page immediately copied this translation, fair; when the original rough draught was, for the satisfaction of the translator, destroyed in his presence.

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His Excellency's memorial was addressed to Ho-choong-taung Colao, first minister of the empire, and represented that " his Majesty the King of Great Britain in sending an Embassy to his Majesty the Emperor of China, fully intended to give the strongest testimony of particular esteem and veneration for his Imperial Majesty; that the Ambassador entrusted to convey such sentiments was earnestly desirous of fulfilling that object of his mission with zeal and effect; that he was ready likewise to conform to every exterior ceremony practised by his Imperial Majesty's subjects, and the tributary princes attending at his court, not only to avoid the confusion of novelty, but in order to shew, by his example on behalf of one of the greatest as well as most distant nations on the globe, the high and just sense universally entertained of his Imperial Majesty's dignity and transcendent virtues; that the Ambassador had determined to act in that manner without hesitation or difficulty, on this condition only, of which he flattered himself his Imperial Majesty would immediately perceive the necessity; and have the goodness to accede to it, by giving such directions as should

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“ be the means of preventing the Ambassador from suffering by his devotion to his Imperial Majesty in this instance; for the Ambassador should certainly suffer heavily if his conduct, on this occasion, could be construed as in any wise unbecoming the great and exalted rank which his master, whom he represented, held among the independent sovereigns of the world: that this danger could be easily avoided, and the satisfaction be general on all sides, by his Imperial Majesty’s order that one of the officers of his court, equal with the Ambassador in rank, should perform before his Britannic Majesty’s picture at large, in his royal robes, and then in the Ambassador’s possession at Peking, the same ceremonies which should be performed by the Ambassador before the throne of his Imperial Majesty.”

This paper was properly addressed, and delivered to the Legate, who promised to forward it immediately. He seemed to approve of its contents. Of the Emperor’s acquiescence in the proposal neither the missionary nor the principal Chinese who were acquainted with it entertained the smallest doubt. The return, in fact, of the ceremony required from one of his Imperial Majesty’s subjects might be made in a private room, without parade, and would scarcely be known or mentioned in the empire; but the prostrations of the Ambassador were to be performed on a solemn festival, in presence of all the



tributary princes and great subjects of the state, and would be described in the gazettes published by authority.

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In this persuasion, preparations were made immediately for the journey to the Emperor's presence. The articles to be carried into Tartary were brought from Hoong-ya-yuen to Peking, as well as the baggage of the Embassy. Among the former were six small brass field-pieces, remarkably well cast, of an elegant form, and fixed on light carriages. They had been lately tried for the purpose of exercising the artillery men of the guard appointed to this service, in order to be prepared to exhibit before his Imperial Majesty. They fired each several times in a minute. So much celerity in military manoeuvres on the part of foreigners was not relished by the Legate, who was present. He affected to say that as much could be done in the Imperial army; and he, who had expressed himself, before, so anxious that all the presents should accompany the Ambassador to Zhe-hol, was of opinion now that the field-pieces should be left behind, as the Emperor was to return soon to Peking. The gunpowder also, of which as many small barrels were among the baggage of the Embassy as was foreseen might occasionally be used in salutes, and in exercising the field-pieces, as well as the musquetry of the guard, was become an object of suspicion with him. He desired it to be delivered up. It was so instantaneously, as a mat-

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ter of indifference. His whole conduct seemed to indicate a mind agitated with apprehension lest the Chinese should begin to entertain a higher idea of the prowess of the English nation than of his own. The former, indeed, very cordially admired a vast variety of articles either brought for presents, or destined for the use of the several persons of the Embassy, and which were displayed both to gratify the curiosity of the natives, and with a view to spread a taste for British manufactures. Most of the utensils in common use in England were, indeed, likewise used and made in China; but inferior, generally, in quality and neatness. English hardware was eagerly sought after; and whenever in the course of time the East India Company's ships shall have free access to the port of Tien-sing, the demand for the manufactures of Birmingham and Sheffield will be very much enlarged, for the supply of Peking alone.

This capital bears not in size the same proportion to the rest of China, that London does to Britain. The principal part of it is called the Tartar city, from the circumstance of having been laid out anew in the thirteenth century in the time of the first Tartar dynasty. It is in the form of a parallelogram, of which the four walls face the four cardinal points. They include an area of about fourteen square miles, in the centre of which is the imperial palace, occupying within the yellow wall at least one square mile. The whole being about one third



larger than London on its present extended scale: whereas the fifteen ancient provinces of China, independently of the vast accession of territory from the great wall to the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, bear a proportion to Great Britain of about fifteen to one. Adjoining, indeed, to the southern wall of the Tartar city is another called, by way of distinction, the Chinese city. Here most of the people lodge who come occasionally upon business from the provinces to the capital. Its walls, which are greatly in decay, include likewise a very considerable space, about nine square miles. A small part only, however, is occupied by buildings which are indifferent, crowded and irregular: the rest is empty, and a part of it in cultivation. Within this compass has been raised the *sien-nong-tan*, or *eminence of venerable agriculturists*. Thither the Emperor repairs every spring, and in compliance with ancient usages, goes through the ceremony of directing with his own hand the plough, through a small field, by way of doing honour to the profession of the husbandman. After his Majesty has directed that instrument for about an hour, a group of peasants chanting, at the same time, round him hymns in praise of husbandry, the princes of his court and great officers of state, following his example, and taking the plough by turns, make several furrows in his presence. They are all, as well as the Emperor himself, clothed in the garb befitting their new occupation. The produce of

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the ground thus ploughed is carefully collected, and solemnly announced to surpass, in quality and quantity, what any other spot of equal dimensions had yielded in the year. The celebration of this exemplary festival, as it justly may be termed, is made known in the remotest village of the empire. It is meant to gratify even to the humblest cottager, and to be some consolation to him, in the disappointments which the vicissitudes of the season frequently occasion, when he recollects that his calling has been dignified in being adopted by his sovereign ; who is thus incorporated in the most numerous and useful class among his subjects, and seems to acquire a common interest with them.

Within the walls, likewise, of the Chinese city has been erected the *Tien-tan*, or *eminence of heaven*. The single character *tien*, or heaven, is inscribed upon the principal building on this eminence. Its form is round, in allusion to the vault of the heavenly firmament, as it strikes the eye ; in like manner as the *Tee-tan*, or temple dedicated to the earth, which the ancient Chinese supposed to be a perfect square, is of a square form. In the summer solstice, when the heat and power of the sun is at the highest, the Emperor comes in solemn procession to pay obedience, and offer thanks for its benign influence ; and in the winter solstice similar ceremonies are performed in the temple of the earth. In neither is any personification. Some, at least, of the lawgivers of



China proceeded, however, from the contemplation of material existence, to a first cause, to which they gave a name ; while others added sacrifices of slaughtered animals, as to a being susceptible of being gratified by the destruction of the life it gave.

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This solemn adoration of heaven and earth is confined to the person of the Emperor ; and for his convenience is performed at Peking, where he likewise appears abroad in a variety of other grand processions, suggested by the mixed views of policy and religion. There are scarcely any other public spectacles in that city ; and they are sometimes compared to the religious ceremonies, or *fonzioni* of his Holiness at Rome. In other respects few of the circumstances take place in the metropolis of China which contribute to the aggrandizement of other capitals.

Peking is merely the seat of the government of the empire. It is not a port. It is not a place of inland trade, nor manufacture. No representative diet, or general states, with numerous retainers, assemble there to assist, or check, or examine, the measures of the crown. It forms no rendezvous for pleasure and dissipation. The chief cities of Europe owe much of their opulence, size, and population to the afflux of those persons, who, by the gift of their progenitors, or by the favour of the prince, possess wealth without labour ; and seek, in the concourse of multitudes, for opportunities to enjoy it to the

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most advantage. They draw with them the principal net revenues of the country. Removed from the anxiety of procuring subsistence, free from the passions of avarice or ambition, disengaged, in great measure, from the cares of life, and not distracted by the uncertainties which attend all enterprize, they constitute the most agreeable and best informed part of the community, where they are. Many of the improvements, and some of the greatest inventions in European sciences, have been the fruits of their leisure. Among them are chiefly to be found those pure and elevated sentiments, and those refined manners which distinguish the character of a gentleman. But except in instruction they are of little benefit to the other orders of mankind, upon whose industry they subsist. This class, including the rich and idle among the nobility and gentry, is, in every part of Europe, numerous. Their families, their servants, they who administer to their multiplied wants and various amusements, contribute much to swell the metropolis of every European kingdom. But Peking owes little of its extent or populousness to circumstances of the same nature. Most men there have their stations regularly allotted to them, or are occupied in attending or providing for those who have. Except, perhaps, some of the relations of the Emperor, few indeed are those whose only business there is the pursuit of pleasure, and the consumption of that time which others are under the neces-



sity of employing in the performance of some public duty, or in the private care of living.

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In China there is less inequality in the fortunes, than in the conditions, of men. The ancient annals of the empire testify that, for a long period of time, the earth, like the other elements of nature, was enjoyed by its inhabitants almost in common. Their country was divided into small equal districts: every district was cultivated conjointly by eight labouring families, which composed each hamlet, and they enjoyed all the profit of their labours, except a certain share of the produce reserved for public expences. It was true, indeed, that after a revolution, deplored in all the Chinese histories, which happened prior to the Christian era, the usurper granted all the lands away to the partners of his victories, leaving to the cultivators of the soil a small pittance only, out of the revenue which it yielded. Property in land also became hereditary; but in process of time the most considerable domains were subdivided into very moderate parcels by the successive distribution of the possessions of every father equally among all his sons: the daughters being always married without dower. It very rarely happened that there was but an only son to enjoy the whole property of his deceased parents; and it could scarcely be increased by collateral succession. For the habits of the country, as well as the dictates of nature, led most men there to marry early. It was reckoned a

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discredit to be without offspring. They who had none adopted those of others, who became theirs exclusively. In case of marriage, should a wife prove barren, a second might be espoused in the lifetime of the first. The opulent were allowed, as in most parts of the East, to keep concubines without reproach. The children of such were considered as being those of the legitimate wife, towards whom they were bred in sentiments of duty and affection ; and they partook in all the rights of legitimacy.

From the operations of all those causes, there was a constant tendency to level wealth : and few could succeed to such an accumulation of it as to render them independent of any efforts of their own for its increase. Besides, wealth alone confers in China but little importance, and no power : nor is property, without office, always perfectly secure. There is no hereditary dignity, which might accompany, and give it pre-eminence and weight. The delegated authority of government often leans more heavily on the unprotected rich, than on the poor, who are less objects of temptation. And it is a common remark among the Chinese, that fortunes, either by being parcelled out to many heirs, or by being lost in commercial speculations, gaming, or extravagance, or extorted by oppressive mandarines, seldom continue to be considerable in the individuals of the same family beyond the third generation. To ascend again the ladder of am-



bition, it is necessary, by long and laborious study, to excel in the learning of the country, which alone qualifies for public employments.

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There are properly but three classes of men in China. Men of letters, from whom the mandarines are taken; cultivators of the ground; and mechanics, including merchants. In Peking alone is conferred the highest degree of literature upon those who, in public examinations, are found most able in the sciences of morality and government, as taught in the ancient Chinese writers; with which studies, the history of their country is intimately blended. Among such graduates all the civil offices in the state are distributed by the Emperor; and they compose all the great tribunals of the empire. The candidates for those degrees are such as have succeeded in similar examinations in the principal city of each province. Those who have been chosen in the cities of the second order, or chief town of every district in the province, are the candidates in the provincial capital. They who fail in the first and second classes have still a claim on subordinate offices, proportioned to the class in which they had succeeded. Those examinations are carried on with great solemnity, and apparent fairness. Military rank is likewise given to those who are found, upon competition, to excel in the military art, and in warlike exercises.

The great tribunals are situated, for the sake of

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convenience, near the southern gate of the Imperial palace at Peking. To them, accounts of all the transactions of the empire are regularly transmitted. They are councils of reference from the Emperor, to whom they report every business of moment, with the motives for the advice which they offer on the occasion. There is a body of doctrine composed from the writings of the earliest sages of the empire, confirmed by subsequent lawgivers and sovereigns, and transmitted from age to age with increasing veneration, which serves as rules to guide the judgment of those tribunals. This doctrine seems indeed founded on the broadest basis of universal justice, and on the purest principles of humanity.

His Imperial Majesty generally conforms to the suggestions of those tribunals. One tribunal is directed to consider the qualifications of the different mandarines for different offices, and to propose their removal when found incapable or unjust. One has for object, the preservation of the manners or morals of the empire, called by Europeans the tribunal of ceremonies, which it regulates on the maxim, that exterior forms contribute not a little to prevent the breach of moral rules. The most arduous and critical, is the tribunal of censors; taking into its consideration the effect of subsisting laws, the conduct of the other tribunals, of the princes and great officers of state, and even of the Emperor himself. There are several subordinate tribunals, such as those of mathematics,



of medicine, of public works, of literature and history. The whole is a regular and consistent system, established at a very early period, continued with little alterations thro every dynasty, and revived, after any interruption from the caprice or passions of particular princes. Whatever deviation has been made by the present family on the throne, arises from the admission of as many Tartars as Chinese into every tribunal. The opinions of the former are supposed always to preponderate. Many of them, indeed, are men of considerable talents and strength of mind, as well as polished manners. The old viceroy of Pe-che-lee is of a Tartar race.

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The estimated population of Peking was carried in the last century, by the jesuit Grimaldi, as quoted by Gemelli Carreri, to sixteen millions. Another missionary reduces, at least that of the Tartar city, to one million and a quarter. According to the best information given to the Embassy, the whole was about three millions. The low houses of Peking seem scarcely sufficient for so vast a population; but very little room is occupied by a Chinese family, at least in the middling and lower classes of life. In their houses there are no superfluous apartments. A Chinese dwelling is generally surrounded by a wall, six or seven feet high. Within this inclosure, a whole family, of three generations, with all their respective wives and children, will frequently be found. One small room is made to serve for the individuals of each

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branch of the family, sleeping in different beds, divided only by mats hanging from the ceiling. One common room is used for eating.

The prevalence of this custom of retaining the several branches of a family under the same roof, is attended with important effects. It renders the younger temperate and orderly in their conduct, under the authority and example of the older ; and it enables the whole to subsist, like soldiers in a mess, with more economy and advantage. Notwithstanding this arrangement, the labouring poor are reduced to the use of vegetable food, with a very rare and scanty relish of any animal substance ; the price of labour being generally found to bear as small a proportion every where to the rate demanded for provisions, as the common people will consent to suffer.

The crowds of people at Peking do not prevent it from being healthy. The Chinese live, indeed, much in the open air, increasing or diminishing the quantity of their apparel according to the weather. The atmosphere is dry, and does not engender putrid disorders ; and excesses productive of them seldom are committed.

Great order is preserved among such multitudes ; and the commission of crimes is rare. Every tenth house-keeper, somewhat in the manner of the ancient tithing-men in England, is answerable for the conduct of the nine neighbouring families, as far as he may be supposed capable of controlling it. The police is observed with



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particular strictness within the walls. The city partakes of the regularity and interior safety of a camp; but is subject also to its constraints. In the suburbs only, public women are registered and licensed. They are not indeed very numerous, being proportioned to the small number of single men, and of husbands absent from their families to be found in the metropolis.

The early marriages of men in easy circumstances have been already mentioned; with the poor, marriage is a measure of prudence, because the children, particularly the sons, are bound to maintain their parents. Whatever is strongly recommended and generally practised, is at length considered as a kind of religious duty; and this union, as such, takes place whenever there is the least prospect of subsistence for a future family. That prospect, however, is not always realized; and children, born without means being had of providing for them, are sometimes abandoned by the wretched authors of their being. It must have been the most dire and absolute necessity which led to this unnatural and shocking act, when first it was committed. It was reconciled, afterwards, in some measure, to the mind, by superstition coming in aid to render it a holy offering to the spirit of the adjoining river in which the infant was thrown, with a gourd suspended from its neck, to keep it from immediate drowning.

The philosophers of China, who have with equal ability and effect inculcated the maxims of filial piety,

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have left, in great measure, the parental affection to its own natural influence, which does not always maintain its empire as effectually as sentiments enforced by early and repeated precept. Thus, in China, parents are less frequently neglected than infants are exposed. The laws of the empire, to corroborate the disposition to filial obedience, furnish an opportunity for punishing any breach of it, by leaving a man's offspring entirely within his power; and habit seems to have familiarized a notion that life, only, becomes truly precious, and inattention to it criminal, after it has continued long enough to be endowed with a mind and sentiment; but that mere dawning existence may be suffered to be lost without scruple, tho it cannot without reluctance.

Female infants are, for the most part, chosen as the less evil for this cruel sacrifice, because daughters are considered more properly to belong to the families into which they pass by marriage; while the sons continue the support and comfort of their own. Those infants are exposed immediately on the birth, and before the countenance is animated, or the features formed, to catch the affections rising in the parent's breast. A faint hope, at least, is generally entertained, that they may yet be preserved from untimely death, by the care of those who are appointed by the government to collect these miserable objects, for the purpose of providing for such as are found alive; and for burying those who already had expired.



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The missionaries are likewise zealous in this humane work. They hasten also to baptize all who retain the smallest spark of life, in order, as they term it, to save the souls of those innocent beings. One of those pious fathers, who was not inclined to exaggerate the evil, acknowledged, that in Pekin about two thousand were every year exposed, of whom a large proportion perished. The missionaries maintained as many as they could recover. These were carefully brought up in the strict principles and fervour of Christianity; and some of them proved to be useful co-adjutors in the conversion of their countrymen to the same faith.

The conversions took place chiefly among the poor, who every where compose the greatest number. The largesses bestowed by the missionaries as far as they were able, prepossessed in favour of the doctrines they promulgated. Some might conform in appearance, only for the sake of the charity they received; but their children became sincere Christians. The poor were also more accessible; and more struck by the disinterested zeal of foreigners coming from afar for their salvation.

It must have appeared a singular spectacle to every class of beholders, to see men actuated by motives different from those of most human actions, quitting for ever their country and their connections, to devote themselves for life to the purpose of changing the tenets of a people they had never seen; and in pursuing that object, to run every

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risk, suffer every persecution, and sacrifice every comfort; insinuating themselves, by address, by talent, by perseverance, by humility, by application to studies foreign from their original education, or by the cultivation of arts to which they had not been bred, into notice and protection; overcoming the prejudice of being strangers in a country where most strangers were prohibited, and where it was a crime to have *abandoned the tombs of their ancestors*, and gaining, at length, establishments necessary for the propagation of their faith, without turning their influence to any personal advantage.

The missionaries of different nations were allowed to build four convents, with churches annexed to them, in Pekin; and some of them within the boundaries of the Imperial palace. They have lands in the neighbourhood; and the society of Jesuits is asserted to have been proprietors of many houses in the city and suburbs, of which the revenues served, and served only, to promote the purposes of the mission. They often, by the same charitable acts, made proselytes, and relieved the distressed.

Most of the missionaries visited the Ambassador at Pekin. One of them, a Portuguese of mild and conciliating manners, was at the same time appointed chief of the Europeans in the tribunal of mathematics, by his Chinese Majesty, and bishop of Pekin, by his Holiness



the Pope, at the recommendation of the Queen of Portugal. Regular, but small, stipends were allowed for the maintenance of the missionaries, by the chief powers of Europe of the Roman catholic persuasion; and the former, in gratitude, as well as from national attachment, served, in some degree, as agents for the countries of which they respectively were natives, wherever the interests of those countries could be concerned. Differences of opinion had formerly divided the different societies of missionaries on particular points of doctrine, and some rivalry still perhaps subsisted between those from one kingdom of Europe, and the remainder; but in most instances, a common interest, and similarity of manners, contrasted with those of the Chinese, united them together. In that remote region, every European was greeted by them as a countryman, and became entitled to regard and service.

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A missionary of a most respectable character, advantageously known in the literary world by many curious communications concerning China, where he had resided from an early period of his life, was grown at present so infirm as not to be able to wait upon the Ambassador; but he wrote a letter to him, expressive of the most fervent wishes for his success; offering every assistance that his observation and experience could supply; adding a picture of the court his Excellency was about to visit; where he encouraged him to hope that every object of his mission would finally be attained; but forewarning him of

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the difficulties and delays that were to be encountered at that court on every occasion; as no important purpose was to be effected there without considerable patience and reiterated efforts.

Beside the visits which the Ambassador received from the missionaries, as well as from the Legate, and Chinese gentlemen who conducted the Embassy, his Excellency was visited every day during his residence at Peking by mandarines of rank, some engaged to it by the duty of their stations, others allured by curiosity, and not a few by the European band of music, which formed a concert every evening in the Ambassador's apartments. Among these visitors was the chief director of the Emperor's orchestra, who constantly attended, and was so much pleased with some of the instruments, that he desired leave to take drawings of them. He declined accepting them as presents; but sent for painters, who spread the floor with sheets of large paper, and, having placed the clarionets, flutes, bassoons, and french horns upon them, traced with their pencils the figures of the instruments, measuring all the apertures, and noting the minutest particulars; and when this operation was completed, they wrote down their remarks, and delivered them to their employer, who said it was his intention to have similar instruments made by Chinese workmen, and to fit to them a scale of his own. A few Chinese had already, it seems, adopted the European violin; but it



was not yet in common use. An instrument of their own, bearing a resemblance to it in form, had two strings only. Some Chinese have likewise learned to note their music upon ruled paper.

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A number of persons went also to view the presents for the Emperor, left at Yuen-min-yuen. Several European and Chinese artificers had begun to take the separated parts of the machines and other articles out of the cases which contained them. Among the spectators were three of the Emperor's grandsons, who candidly expressed their admiration of what they saw. Some of the mandarines seemed to check any emotion of that kind, and affected to consider every object as a work of ordinary merit. All eyes were, however, fixed on the vases, which were among the finest productions of the late Mr. Wedgwood's art. Of porcelain every Chinese is a judge. These specimens of the beauty of European manufacture were universally acknowledged and extolled.

Among the presents was a volume of portraits of the nobility of Great Britain. In order that the inspection of them should be more satisfactory to his Imperial Majesty, a mandarine attended to mark, in Chinese characters upon the margins, the names and rank of the persons represented. When the mandarine came to the print of an English duke, taken from a painting of his Grace when extremely young, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was told that the original was a *Ta-zhin* (or great man)

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of very high rank, the mandarine had so little conception of a child's being qualified, by hereditary right, to be possessed of such a dignity, that he gave a look of surprise; and laying down his pencil, with which Chinese characters are drawn, exclaimed, that he could not venture to describe him in that manner; for the Emperor knew very well how to distinguish a great man from a little boy.

While the Ambassador continued at Peking some of the gentlemen had occasion often to pass from thence to the Imperial palace in the country, and returning at different times thro different suburbs, gates, and streets, had opportunities of viewing most parts of the capital. His Excellency rode in an English carriage, drawn by four Tartar horses about twelve hands high, and conducted by postilions picked out among persons in his guard, who had followed that occupation formerly in England. It was a new spectacle to the Chinese, accustomed only to the low, clumsy, two-wheeled carriages, fixed without springs immediately to the shafts, and little better than common European carts. When a splendid chariot intended as a present for the Emperor was unpacked and put together, nothing could be more admired; but it was necessary to give directions for taking off the box; for when the mandarines found out that so elevated a seat was destined for the coachman who was to drive the horses, they expressed the utmost astonishment that it should be proposed to place any man in a situation *above* the Em-



peror. So easily is the delicacy of this people shocked in whatever relates to the person of their exalted sovereign.

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The evening before the departure of the Embassy from Peking, a mandarine of high rank waited upon his Excellency with a gracious message to him from the Emperor, inquiring about his health, which he heard had been somewhat of late affected, and recommending to him to travel, as he usually did himself, by easy journeys into Tartary; and that he and his suite should be accommodated at the palaces erected at several stations throughout the route where his Imperial Majesty stopped in his way to Zhe-hol.

The adjustment of the planetarium could not be completed before the departure of the Ambassador for Tartary; and Dr. Dinwiddie was left behind in order to inspect that nice and necessary work. Other gentlemen and attendants of the Embassy remained also on various accounts at Peking or Yuen-min-yuen. Some were detained by indisposition: among the latter was one of the botanical gardeners. He had collected specimens of the many species of plants of the province of Pe-che-lee: a list of those which he preserved is added to this chapter, as not altogether uninteresting to a botanist.

*Corispermum hyssopifolium*

*Cyperus odoratus.*

—— another species.

——— *iria.*

*Blitum.*

*Scirpus.*

Pekin.*Panicum ciliare.*————— *crus corvi.*————— *glaucum.**Poa.**Briza eragrostis.**Cynosurus indicus.**Arundo phragmites.**Lolium.**Rubia cordata.**Cuscuta.**Solanum melongena.*

————— another species.

*Lycium Chinense.**Rhamnus**Euonymus.**Nerium oleander.**Asclepias sibirica.**Cynanchium.**Chenopodium aristatum.*————— *scoparium.*————— *viride.*————— *glaucum.**Salsola altissima.*

————— another species.

*Tamarix.**Statice limonium.**Asparagus.**Hemerocallis japonica.**Polygonum aviculare.*————— *lapathifolium.*————— *tinctorium.*————— *persicaria.**Sophora japonica.**Tribulus terrestris.**Arenaria rubra.**Euphorbia cyparissias.*————— *escula.*————— *tithymaloides.**Potentilla.**Nymphæa nelumbo.**Leonurus sibiricus.**Antirrhinum.**Incarvillea.**Sesamum orientale.**Vitex negundo.**Lepidium latifolium.**Sisymbrium amphibium.**Cleome.**Erodium ciconium.**Sida.**Hibiscus trionum.**Dolichos hirsutus.**Hedysarum striatum.*

————— another species.



Astragalus, three species.	Juniperus barbadensis.	Pekin.
Trifolium melilotus.	Andropogon ischæmum.	
Sonchus oleraceus.	—— another species.	
Prenanthes.	Holcus.	
Bidens pilosa.	Cenchrus racemosus.	
—— another species.	Rottboella.	
Artemisia capillaris.	Atriplex.	
————— integrifolia.	Ailanthus glandulosus.	
Aster, two species.	Equisetum.	
Inula japonica.	Matricaria.	
Chrysanthemum.	Prunus armeniaca.	
Eclipta erecta.	Avena.	
————— prostrata.	Lonicera caprifolium.	
Impatiens balsamina.	Sempervivum tectorum.	
Typha latifolia.	Malva, several species.	
Xanthium strumarium.	Melissa.	
Amaranthus caudatus.	Apium.	
—— another species.	Corylus avellana	
Acalypha.	Thlaspi.	
Sterculia platanifolia.	Brassica.	
Cucurbita citrullus.	Pinus.	
Salix.	Fraxinus.	
Cannabis sativa.	Morus.	

## CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF CHINA. VIEW OF  
THE GREAT WALL. VISIT TO THE EMPEROR'S COURT AT  
HIS SUMMER'S RESIDENCE IN TARTARY.

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THE Ambassador, attended by the usual number of Chinese, and most of his European suite, set out from Pekin on the second of September, 1793. The plain in which that capital is situated extends a considerable way to the north and east. To the left, or westward, the hills began to rise at a little distance; but to the right, for many miles, there was a perfect level to the sea, or gulf of Pe-chee-lee, which seemed to have retreated from the base of the mountains it originally had bathed. Rows of the rough-barked willow, (*salix fragilis*,) growing to a vast size, shaded the road passing over this plain. It appeared to be the tree best adapted to the soil.

In this part of the journey his Excellency travelled in his European carriage; and it was probably for the first time that an English post-chaise rolled upon the route to Tartary. The Ambassador took occasionally some of the mandarines into the chaise with him. At first they were somewhat startled, lest the carriage, which was hung high, and seemed to them to totter, should overturn;



but being assured of its perfect safety, they became inexpressibly delighted with its easiness, lightness, and rapidity; the ingenuity of the springs, and of the various contrivances for raising and lowering the glasses and curtains, and for increasing or diminishing at pleasure the openings of the Venetian blinds.

The soil adjoining to this flat road was in the first part of it, like that on the other side of Peking, a rich loam highly cultivated, and bearing generally the same produce; but one field, in which a species of the polygonum seemed to have been planted, as was judged from the regularity of its growth, attracted more particularly the attention of the strangers. They were informed that its leaves, macerated and prepared like those of the indigo plant, produced, likewise, a dye of a blue colour, equal, or at least approaching to that of indigo. It may be desirable to make, in climates which, like that of Peking, will not produce the *Indigofera*, the experiment, how far the dye to be manufactured from this polygonum may be substituted to advantage, for that which the indigo plant affords. A small species of the *Colutea* was at the same time mentioned, as producing from the buds and tender leaves, a substance, which gives a dye of a green colour.

There is scarcely a vegetable growing in China, of which the different uses, in the economy of life, have

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not, been found out by trials, or accidentally observed in the succession of ages, by the natives, so as to have enabled them to have succedanea among themselves, for the articles which, otherwise, would be necessary to procure from other countries. Thus, for example, they use the seeds of a species of the fagara, by way of pepper. They extract an excellent oil from the kernels of the apricot in lieu of olives; but for more common purposes from the seeds of sesamum, of hemp, of cotton, of turnip, of a species of mint, and of a variety of others. There cannot, indeed, be said to be a useless weed in China. They manufacture cloth from the fibres of a dead nettle; and paper from the bark of different vegetables, from the fibres of the hemp, from the straw of rice. A species of cultivated momordica serves for cucumber. A carduus is occasionally eaten as a relish with rice. The shepherd's purse is to be found sometimes in their salads. They draw from the carthamus their finest red; very seldom using carmine. The cup of the acorn serves them to dye black; and the leaves of an ash are made to answer for those of the mulberry in the rearing of silk-worms.

On these plains, besides different species of the willow, few trees were found, except poplars planted round burying places; and ash and mulberry trees thinly scattered throughout the plain. That willow which is distinguished by its pendent branches and leaves, adorned the banks of streams: one of these was observed fifteen



feet in girth, as measured at a man's height above the root. A river was crossed early in the first day's journey, narrow, indeed, but deep enough to be navigated by small boats, of which a considerable number was seen upon it. The course of it, as of all the others in this tract, was to the south and east. Goods come frequently down these rivers from the confines of Tartary; others are carried to and from it on the backs chiefly of dromedaries, or double-humped camels; animals esteemed to be stouter, stronger, and swifter than the camel with a single hump. The former, or dromedary, is likewise more plentifully covered with hair than the latter, and better adapted for cold climates. Such were loaded often with furs, the richest produce of Tartary; but it is found worthwhile to employ them also in conveying from thence articles of much less value. Even charcoal is brought upon their backs to Peking, it being the chief fuel used there in the preparation of food. The sheep seen grazing on the plains, were of that kind which have very short but thick fleshy tails, weighing several pounds, and highly prized by Chinese epicures.

About twenty miles from the capital the country towards Tartary began to rise; the soil changed likewise, and became more sandy as it ascended, while the clay and black mold sensibly decreased. A few miles further on the travellers stopped for the day, at one of those palaces built for the convenience of

the Emperor, which are mentioned towards the end of the last chapter. It stood upon an irregular surface near the base of a gentle hill, which, with a part of the vale below, was inclosed, and divided into a park and pleasure grounds, with a very pleasing effect. Trees were here thickly interspersed, but permitted a view through them of a stream running at a little distance. Beyond it, the rising hills were some of them planted, and some left naked. The different objects seemed in their natural state, and as if assembled here only by a fortunate chance. A Chinese gardener is the painter of nature; consulting which he contrives, without rule or science, to unite simplicity and beauty.

A little way beyond the palace the hills approached each other, and formed a pass about a mile in width. In their neighbourhood were some mineral springs, called the Emperor's baths; either from having been fitted up at his expence, or from having been used by some of the imperial family; or because he is the general owner of every thing not particularly appropriated.

Beyond the pass an extensive plain opened, on which were several villages, two walled towns of the second order, and another imperial palace. In the pleasure grounds about this palace were perceived some traces of a white substance like chalk coming, in technical language, to the day.

In such parts of the islands of Africa, of the continent



of America, of the Southern Islands, and of the Asiatic continent, as had been already visited by the present travellers, in the course of this expedition, they did not, since they quitted England, once meet before with what is so common there, a chalky appearance ; or any flint in the shape of nodules, like knots in timber, but which are arranged generally in a horizontal line in beds of chalk. The calcareous substances of any kind which were seen by them in that long tract, bore but a very small proportion to the produce of volcanic fire, or masses of granite, which presented themselves so frequently throughout their route. Of these the first was not observable, and the second was rare, in England ; as they were likewise in the present route to Tartary, where those English travellers began to perceive several mineralogical resemblances to their own country.

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Most of the hills, however, passed by in the second day's journey had something peculiar in their form and position : each standing on its own basis, and rising singly from the plain, in which they were scattered about without order. They appeared to affect smooth surfaces separated by angles, but rounded or shortened in the lapse of time, and yet retaining so much of regular forms as to excite the fancy of comparing those masses to gigantic crystallizations.

In the low grounds in this part of the country great quantities of tobacco are planted. Its smoke is inhaled

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through bamboo tubes by the Chinese ; and the practice is, perhaps, more prevalent amongst them, than in any other country, as it extends to persons of both sexes, and to those of a very tender age. Girls not more than ten years old, or younger, coming from the houses near the road out of curiosity to see the strangers pass, were observed to have long pipes constantly in their mouths.

This plant is supposed, in Europe, to have been introduced from America, to every part of the ancient continent. There is, however, no traditional account of such introduction into China, or even, as is asserted, into India, where it is likewise cultivated and used in vast abundance. In neither country are foreign usages suddenly adopted. It is possible, that, like the gin-seng, it may be naturally found in particular spots, both in the old and new world.

Tobacco is taken in powder likewise by the Chinese. A mandarine is seldom without a small ornamented phial to hold his snuff, of which he occasionally pours a quantity, equal to a pinch, upon the back of his left hand, between the thumb and index, which approaching to his nose he snuffs up several times a day. It is not the only substance which is used in China to gratify this artificial appetite. Powdered cinnabar is often employed for the same purpose ; as opium and odorous ingredients are for smoking.



It was now the season for curing tobacco ; this operation was performed mostly in the open air.

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Tho many buildings are found necessary for the manufacture of that article in the West Indies, yet here scarcely any were required, there being little apprehension of rain to injure the tobacco leaves when plucked. They were hung on cords to dry, without any shelter, upon the spot in which they grew. Each owner and his family were sufficient to take care of his own produce. These circumstances serve to indicate the nature of the climate little subject to moisture, and the general division of property into minute parcels. There are, indeed, in this part of China, some lands granted to Tartar families, on the condition of feudal or military services, and which generally descend to the eldest son ; but there are not many such ; and none of them are said to be very considerable.

In the third day's journey the population seemed somewhat to diminish. The road passed through a small town, surrounded by a wall, but without cannon, which indeed were deemed unnecessary, as no enemy possessed of artillery was to be apprehended ; the chief uses, therefore, of those ramparts were for securing the tribute and taxes that had been collected in the neighbouring districts, in their passage to the capital ; for the protection of the public granaries, and for the safety of the prisons. Troops were garrisoned here for those pur-

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poses ; and many were likewise employed in the reparation of the roads. These were in some places so steep and rough, that it was necessary to haul the Ambassador's wheel-carriage empty over them ; his Excellency travelling in the mean time in a palanquin. The scenery hereabouts was pleasing and romantic ; wild goats, and wild horses were seen scampering along the hills, and men ascending precipices, to find out spots fit for cultivation.

“ The mountains,” as Dr. Gillan remarked, “ sloped, “ in general, backwards from the sea towards Tartary, “ falling abruptly on the opposite side, there presenting “ often the naked rock, and resembling what are called “ in Switzerland, *les Aiguilles des Alpes*. The various “ strata of the mountains appeared in the following “ order : first stratum, seen low down in the deepest “ parts of the beds of the river, where the water had “ left them, was of sand and sandstone ; second, above “ the sand and sandstone was coarse grained limestone, “ full of nodules, and of a blue colour ; third, above the “ second stratum lay an irregular and very thick layer “ of indurated clay, of a bluish, and sometimes of a “ brown-red colour, communicated to it by calx of “ iron ; in some places this calx was so abundant as to “ give the clay the appearance of ochre ; and in others, “ the last stratum only could be perceived. In many parts “ of the neighbourhood of Tartary were perpendicular “ veins of white spar, and sometimes blue and white.



“ On the top of the highest mountains, on both sides of  
 “ the road, were large masses of granite, but none so low  
 “ down as where the road was traced.”

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At the bottom of some of those eminences ran a river to the southward, over which a bridge was thrown upon caissons of wattles, filled with stones. Such bridges are common in this part of the country; where they are erected with expedition, and at little expence; and where the most solid fabric might not long resist the torrents tumbling suddenly from the impending precipices. The caissons are of different dimensions, according to the spread of the flood. They are fixed by perpendicular spars, in number and strength proportioned to the depth of the river, and the rapidity of the current. In broad and navigable streams the caisson work is discontinued in the middle; and large flat-bottomed boats are substituted. Over the whole are laid planks, hurdles, and gravel. When the Emperor is expected, temporary bridges are constructed, lest the others should fail in consequence of the extraordinary crowd, and heavy loads passing upon them on such occasions.

In the progress of the journey and approach towards Tartary, the number of Tartars inhabiting the towns and villages on the road seemed to be nearly equal to that of the Chinese, and the difference between the characters and manners of those two nations became less striking; in general the former appeared to be of a more robust make, with less expression in their countenance, and less

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courtesy in their manners, than the latter. The Tartar women were distinguished chiefly by having feet of a natural size. The head-dress of both consisted in natural or artificial flowers placed on each side of the head, above the ears. No woman is so poor, as to neglect, or so aged as to give up, adorning herself in this manner. The culture of flowers for this purpose is a regular occupation throughout the country. By long practice, and a variety of experiments, the Chinese gardeners have discovered methods of improving the beauty, size, and fragrance of many of their flowers; such as the anemone, the peony, the matricaria, and several others; some have been introduced, as the tuberoses, for example, by the missionaries from Europe.

The influence of the looser manners of the Tartars, occasioned already upon this road, as upon those of Europe, the appearance of beggars, silently claiming, by their squalid looks, and by the exposure of some natural or accidental blemish, the commiseration and charity of passengers.

Up the sides of distant mountains was descried, in the morning of the fourth day's journey, a prominent line, or narrow and unequal mark, such as appear to be formed sometimes, but more irregularly, by the veins of quartz when viewed from afar in the sides of the mountains of Gneiss, in Scotland. The continuance of this line to the Tartarian mountains' tops, was sufficient to arrest the attention of the beholder; and the form of a wall with battlements was, in a little time, distinctly discerned, where



such buildings were not expected to be found, nor thought practicable to be erected. What the eye could, View of the  
great Wall. from a single spot, embrace of those fortified walls, carried along the ridges of hills, over the tops of the highest mountains, descending into the deepest vallies, crossing upon arches over rivers, and doubled and trebled in many parts to take in important passes, and interspersed with towers or massy bastions at almost every hundred yards, as far as the sight could reach, presented to the mind an undertaking of stupendous magnitude. A partial view of what was then beheld, is contained in Plate, No. 24. of the folio volume. The travellers were now able to determine, from their own feelings, that it was not alone the dimensions of those walls, however considerable, that made the impression of wonder upon the persons who had hitherto seen these intended barriers against the Tartars. Astonishment seldom is excited by the mere effect of the continuance or multiplication of labour, that may be performed by common means. It was the extreme difficulty of conceiving how the materials could be conveyed, and such structures raised, in situations apparently inaccessible, which principally occasioned surprise and admiration. One of the most elevated ridges over which the great wall is carried has been ascertained to measure five thousand two hundred and twenty-five feet.

This species of fortification, for to call it simply by the name of wall does not convey an adequate idea of such a fabric, is described to extend, tho not equally per-

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fectured throughout, in a course of fifteen hundred miles ; for of that length was the boundary line between the civilized Chinese, and several restless Tartar tribes. Upon such barriers, indeed, was not supposed to depend the fate of nations in actual war. A superior army is always found to overcome every species of defence ; no fortification is impregnable ; but fortresses delay the progress of an enemy. They preserve a country from being surprised by a sudden invasion ; and fortified walls protracted along a boundary line, serve as a protection against sudden and unexpected inroads, or the partial attacks of individual plunderers in the midst of peace. Thus the Romans, however brave and warlike, erected several such barriers in Britain, against the uncivilized Picts. Whenever a nation, in such an advanced state of society as to be engaged in the cultivation of the soil, has happened to be in the neighbourhood of a people of mere hunters, who may be considered as partaking, themselves, of the nature of beasts of prey, the former has frequently had recourse to the erection of strong ramparts against the perpetual devastations of the latter. Several were raised for this purpose in Egypt, in Syria, in Media ; one to the eastward of the Caspian sea, by a successor of Alexander, and another in the country of Tamerlane ; the two last intended, like the Chinese wall, against hordes of roving Tartars. It is probable that most of these answered for a time the end for which they were erected ; and perhaps until the circumstances which called for



such a separation between neighbouring states had themselves ceased to exist. The memory of them is preserved among the greatest monuments of human enterprize ; yet all of them united, whether they be considered as to the extent of the country over which they were carried, and which they were meant to protect, or as to the quantity of materials employed in their construction, or the labour requisite to overcome the difficulties of situation, were not equal to the Chinese wall alone. It has likewise far exceeded them in duration, as well as in solidity. Many of the inner and weaker appendages to this great rampart have indeed yielded to the effects of time, and are mouldering to decay ; and others have undergone repair ; but the main work seems in most places to have been built with a degree of care and architectural skill, which, without any subsequent attention or addition, have preserved it entire for about two thousand years ; and it appears almost as little liable to injury as the rocky and mountainous bulwarks which nature itself had raised between Tartary and China.

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The period of the first erection of any artificial barrier between those two countries is not particularly ascertained ; but that of its completion is an historical fact as authentic as any of those which the annals of ancient kingdoms have transmitted to posterity. From that period, about three centuries before the Christian era, the transactions of the Chinese empire have been regularly, and without any intervening chasm, recorded, both in

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official documents, and by private contemporary writers.

No where had history become so much an object of public attention, and no where more the occupation of learned individuals. Every considerable town throughout the empire was a kind of university, in which degrees were conferred on the proficient in the history and government of the state. Historical works were multiplied throughout. The accounts of recent events were exposed to the correction of the witnesses of the facts ; and compilations of former transactions to the criticisms of rival writers. Under all these circumstances little doubt can be entertained concerning the epoch of an undertaking to which hundreds of thousands must have concurred ; which is mentioned in the histories of the times, and repeated, or alluded to, in those of every subsequent period. Historical evidence depends, in the first instance, upon the personal credit given to the assertions of contemporary writers ; and upon their consistency with public records, monuments, and other facts and circumstances within the knowledge or observation of the reader. Such creditable writer vouches, upon the same grounds, for the truth of those who immediately preceded him ; and thus facts are traced by induction, strictly and critically pursued, in a retrograde scale, as far as it can be carried by regular links, to the most remote transactions, in the truth of which any confidence is to be placed. It is upon such induction that is founded the belief of events removed from the immediate



cognizance of the senses. There seems to be no other grounds for the certainty of the existence, for example, of the Roman commonwealth, or of the battle of Actium, or of the invasion of England by the Norman Conqueror.

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Of the twenty centuries which the Chinese wall appears with equal certainty to have subsisted, it was, during sixteen of them, found effectual in excluding the Tartar hordes, until the mighty torrent of Gengis-Kan's power rendered every resistance vain: a power, however, which falling from the hands of his descendants in less than a single century, the Tartars were expelled and kept out of China near three hundred years, till in the last age, in the violence of internal rebellion, they were invited back to that country, where they have ever since maintained the empire in a tranquil and flourishing state.

Beside the means of defence which the great wall furnished in time of war, it was considered as an advantage by the Chinese, whose regulated manners and settled mode of life little accorded with the roving and restless disposition of their northern neighbours, that even in times of peace, it impeded the communication between them; nor was it without its use in keeping out from the fertile provinces of China the numerous and ferocious beasts that haunt the wilds of Tartary, as well as to fix the boundary between the two countries; and to prevent the escape of malefactors out of China, or the emigration of malecontents.

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Till the establishment of the present dynasty, few projects of foreign conquests appear to have been entertained in China ; and it is still there a favourite point of policy to confine its subjects within the limits of the empire. They who depart from it without licence are liable to severe punishments on their return.

The importance, however, of the great wall of China has in great measure ceased, since the territories on each side of it have been subjected to the same monarchs. The Chinese, with whom curiosity vanishes with the novelty of the object, look upon it now with perfect indifference ; and few of the mandarines who accompanied the Embassy, seemed to pay the least attention to it. Yet the appearance of so vast a monument of human industry has not failed to attract the notice of those foreigners who have crossed it on their entrance into China. The first European who published any account of that empire, Marco Polo, has made, however, no mention of the wall ; tho, as he travelled over land to the capital of China, it was presumed that he must have passed to it through Tartary in some spot where the wall now stands. From such silence some doubts have arisen in the mind of a learned Italian, who has in contemplation to publish a new edition of Marco Polo's Travels, whether the wall was really in existence in the thirteenth century, when that celebrated Venetian went to the court of the Tartar sovereign of China. But the mere omission of that fact



by him, could not be made to weigh against the existence of it, when supported by the same species of positive testimony, which is thought decisive in all other instances, were it even to be supposed that Marco Polo had actually passed over the ground where the wall subsists at present; and had given to the world a regular account of his travels immediately on his return, instead of the unconnected fragments which he dictated long afterwards, at a distance from his own home, and separated, as he was probably, from the notes taken on the spot and other his original papers. A copy, however, of Marco Polo's route to China, taken from the Doge's library at Venice, is sufficient to decide this question. By this route it appears that, in fact, that traveller did not pass through Tartary to Peking, but that after having followed the usual track of the caravans, as far to the eastward from Europe as Samarcand and Cashgar, he bent his course to the south-east across the river Ganges to Bengal; and, keeping to the southward of the Thibet mountains, reached the Chinese province of Shensee, and through the adjoining province of Shansee to the capital, without interfering with the line of the great wall.

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The present travellers approached the wall by a steep ascent, until they came to what was called the southern gate, in reference to an outer one more northerly, on the side of Tartary. This southern gate was thrown across

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the road, where it passed over the summit of a range of hills, in most parts inaccessible. It was built for the defence of the pass in a very strong situation, the ridge of the hills was narrow, and its descent steep. The road ran along it through a defile, at the extremity of which was a military post.

Captain Parish observes, “ that military posts are  
“ usually square towers of various dimensions, at which  
“ a few men are constantly quartered. It is probable,  
“ that in the event of war, they would become the rendezvous of the troops in the neighbourhood. They  
“ are situated at the entrance of passes, or on eminences  
“ difficult of access, or on the narrow passages of rivers.  
“ They vary from about forty feet square and as many  
“ in height, to so low as four feet square and six feet  
“ high. There are few indeed so very small as the last  
“ dimensions. One, however, of this description, was  
“ met on the road from Peking to this place. The larger  
“ towers are entered by a flight of steps, usually completed by loose stones, which lead to a small arch at  
“ about half the height of the tower from the base. The  
“ platform only appears to be intended for defence, as  
“ there are very rarely ports to be discovered in the  
“ sides. In the parapets of the platforms, battlements  
“ are constructed. The towers are most frequently solid,  
“ except when of the largest dimensions. On the top



“ of the tower a building is discoverable from below, View of the  
“ that appears sufficient to contain its little garrison. At great Wall.  
“ one end of this is a flag-staff, on which a yellow stand-  
“ ard is hoisted. Its walls are sometimes painted and  
“ ornamented with a party-coloured dragon. Near the  
“ tower is generally a hut, and in front a red stand, on  
“ which a few spears and musquets are displayed. This  
“ hut is occupied as a guardhouse or barrack. Near  
“ each post is a pai-loo, or triumphal gateway, slightly  
“ contructed of wood, stained black, white, and red.  
“ Close to it are three, four, five or six elevations of ma-  
“ sonry, with the figures of dragons also traced upon  
“ them. These formerly contained a composition of  
“ combustible matter, and were used to convey intelli-  
“ gence by signals ; but it is said that they are now be-  
“ come merely ornamental. They differ in their form,  
“ some of them being elliptical, some hemispherical, and  
“ others conical on cubic bases.

“ From six to fifteen men turned out at these posts as  
“ the Embassy passed by them. They were usually  
“ without arms. A man from the top of the tower beat  
“ upon a *loo*, whilst another fired a salute from three  
“ small chambers of iron placed vertically in the ground.  
“ Those posts are at various distances from each other.  
“ Along the river Peiho, from its entrance to Tong-choo-  
“ foo, there were about fifteen, exclusive of those at

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“ Toong-coo and Tien-sing ; nearly one to every thirteen miles ; but on the road from Peking towards Tartary, there is one to about every five miles.”

From the last military post the road led through a narrow valley watered by a clear winding stream. The hills gradually approaching, left little more than room for the road and river. Across the former, a tower was erected with a gateway in the centre, and an arch thrown over the latter. The pass had formerly been closed by walls extending from the tower up the hills on each side to the east and west ; but they are now in ruins. This passage, when the Tartars were considered in the light of enemies, was defended by troops stationed in this place ; and the remains of works and dwelling-houses, are still found there, with a few inhabitants.

After passing another gate nearer to the old Tartar boundary, and going through a perpendicular defile formed by high and massy walls, the travellers arrived at Koo-pe-koo, which was the residence of the strong garrison placed for the defence of the outer wall in this part of it. It was inclosed by concentric works, united with the main wall. Military honours were paid to the Ambassador on his arrival at this northern boundary of China proper. “ The troops were drawn up,” as Captain Parish remarked, “ in two lines, facing inwards. They “ were formed by companies, each of which had its



“ leader, its standard, and five camp-colours. In entering  
 “ the lane formed by the two lines, there were manda-  
 “ rines on each side; then music, tents, and trumpets,  
 “ pai-loos or triumphal gates, twelve companies in suc-  
 “ cession on each side; and lastly, about ten small field  
 “ pieces of various forms and constructions. The parade  
 “ of the companies were each as follows:

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“ The leader usually a bowman,		
“ The standards,		
“ one sword,	five small colours,	one sword,
and	matchlocks and swordmen,	and
“ swordmen,	in numbers nearly equal,	swordmen
“ five deep.	“ five deep.	five deep.

“ The number of the whole amounted to twelve hun-  
 “ dred. The interval between the companies, nearly  
 “ equalled the extent of their front, which was about  
 “ seven yards.”

Near to Koo-pe-koo, were some breaches in a part of the great wall, which afforded an easy opportunity of ascending and examining it; and this neglect of it, seemed sufficiently to guarantee the strangers from any jealousy or imputation of indiscretion, in consequence of indulging a curiosity, which the fame of this once important barrier had strongly excited in their minds. All the gentlemen of the Embassy went to visit it; but Captain Parish was particularly attentive to its construction and dimensions; of which a plan, section and elevation appear in plate, No. 23, of the folio volume. “ The body of the great

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“ wall, he observed, was an elevation of earth, retained  
“ on each side by a wall of masonry, and terraced by a  
“ platform of square bricks. The retaining walls, conti-  
“ nued above its platform, form its parapets. Its dimen-  
“ sions, independently of fractional parts, were as follow:

	Feet.	Inches.
“ Height of the brick work to the bottom of		
“ the cordon, - - -	20	0
“ From the bottom of the cordon to the top		
“ of the parapet, - - -	5	0
<hr/>		
“ Total height of the brick wall,	25	0

“ The brick wall is placed upon a basis of stone pro-  
“ jecting about two feet beyond the brick-work, and of  
“ which the height is irregular, owing to the irregula-  
“ rity of the ground over which it runs; but not more  
“ than two courses appear above the sod, amounting to  
“ somewhat above two feet.

	Feet.	Inches.
“ Thickness of each parapet wall at top,	1	6
“ At the cordon, - - -	2	3
“ Depth of the cordon, - - -	0	6
“ Projection of the cordon, - - -	0	6
“ Thickness of each retaining wall, where it		
“ rests upon the stone base, - - -	5	0
“ The bottom of the cordon is upon a level with the		
“ terrepleine of the wall.		



“ Entire thickness of the wall, including the elevation  
 “ of earth, which is eleven feet thick in every part of it. View of the  
great Wall.

Feet. Inches.

“ At the cordon, - - - 15 6  
 “ At the bottom of the brick work, - - - 21 0  
 “ Thickness of the stone base, - - - 25 0  
 “ There is, in many parts, a small ditch beyond  
 “ the stone foundation of the wall.

Feet. Inches.

“ In relation to the embrasures, the height  
 “ of the merlons is - - - 2 0  
 “ Width of the embrasures within and with-  
 “ out - - - 2 0  
 “ Distance between them, from centre to  
 “ centre - - - 9 0

As to the loopholes,

“ Height of the opening - - - 1 0  
 “ Width of the opening - - - 0 10  
 “ Depth of the scarp - - - 4 0  
 “ Distance between two - - - 9 0  
 “ The bottom of the loopholes is on a level with the  
 “ terrepleine of the wall; and from thence they are  
 “ sloped downwards, so as to discover an enemy within  
 “ a few yards of the basis of the wall. It will perhaps  
 “ be thought, that this position is much better calculated  
 “ for the use of fire arms, than for that of bows and  
 “ arrows.

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“ The towers incorporated with the great wall are distant from each other about one hundred yards ; but as the plan of the wall is a curve line, this distance estimated by that line is variously, and sometimes considerably increased ; when greater strength was required, they are sometimes more frequent. Their dimensions and constructions, and the positions they hold with respect to the wall, also vary considerably with their situations. The first of those which was examined consisted of one story upon a level with the terrepleine of the wall ; and above this, a parapet nearly similar to that of the wall. It had three embrasures or ports below in each front, and two in each front of the parapet of its platform. Its dimensions were as follow :

	Feet. Inches.	
“ Length of each side of the square at the base	40	0
“ Length of each side at the top	30	0
“ Height of its stone base	4	0
“ Height of the brick wall from the stone		
“ base to the cordon	28	4
“ From the cordon to the top of the parapet	5	0
“ Total height of the tower	37	4
“ Width of the lower embrasures or ports	3	0
“ Their height	3	0
“ The embrasures of the parapet were of the same dimensions as those of the wall.		



“ This tower projects eighteen feet beyond the wall, towards Tartary. At the base it is entered off the platform of the wall by one of its ports, which is cut away a little for this purpose.

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great Wall.

“ The second tower which was examined differed materially from the first, as to its form, dimensions, and situations. It consisted of two stories, besides its platform. The lower story was on a level with the terrepleine of the wall. It was a square and almost solid mass of stone, intersected with arched passages, in the form of a cross, at each extremity of which was a window or large port in the centre of each side of the square. By two of these it communicated with the terrepleine of the wall on each side; thus this tower offers two flanks to the wall. Midway between the entrance and the centre of the cross is a narrow staircase, at right angles to the direction of the wall, which communicates with the second story. This may be said to contain but one room, formed by three parallel arches, in a direction perpendicular to the entrance, having three arched intervals of communication between each. Those in the centre are in a line which bisects the building, and are in the direction of the wall; the others are in lines parallel to this on each side. Thus a square room is formed, consisting of three equal arches, parallel to each other, and three lines of arches of communication, leaving four square

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“ piers of masonry about the centre. The extremities of  
 “ each parallel arch are pierced for ports or embrasures,  
 “ three of which face the wall on each side ; the centre  
 “ ports facing the wall enfilade the terrepleine on each  
 “ side of the tower ; the others flank the sides of the  
 “ wall in each direction. The ports in the other faces  
 “ of the tower look to the north and south. In the para-  
 “ pet of the platform are twelve embrasures, three in  
 “ each front, with a loophole in each interval. Thus  
 “ each front in this tower presents on the lower story  
 “ one port, on the second story three ports ; on the plat-  
 “ form three embrasures and five loopholes. It owes  
 “ probably the superior strength of its construction to  
 “ its vicinity to the river, and short distance from the  
 “ outer gate. On this latter account it is that the tower is  
 “ particularly strengthened on each side of the wall, de-  
 “ fending it on one side towards the river ; and should  
 “ this be forced, protecting on the other side the entrance  
 “ of the gate. The dimensions of this second tower were  
 “ as follow :

				Feet.	Inches.
“ Height of the stone base	-	-	-	4	0
“ Floor of the first story.	-	-	-	16	0
“ Height of the arch of the first story	-			8	0
“ Thickness of the arch	-	-	-	1	3
“ Thickness of the flooring of the second					
“ story	-	-	-	0	4



	Feet.	Inches.	View of the great Wall.
“ Height of the parallel arches -	12	0	
“ Thickness of the parallel arches -	1	3	
“ Thickness of the flooring of the platform	0	4	
“ Height of the parapet of the platform -	5	0	
<hr/>			
“ Total height of the tower -	48	2	
“ Length of each side of the square at top	36	0	
“ Length of each side of the square at the			
“ base - - - -	42	0	
“ Dimensions of the lower story.			
“ Width of the intersecting arches -	3	0	
“ Length of the intersecting arches -	33	0	
“ Height of the arches - - -	8	0	
“ Width of ports or embrasures - -	2	0	
“ Height of the same - - -	4	0	
“ Height of the cut for doors - -	5	0	
“ The embrasures are arched at the top.			
“ Width of the opening for staircase -	2	0	
“ Height of the opening - - -	4	0	
“ Dimensions of the second story.			
“ Length of each side of the room -	28	0	
“ Width of the parallel arches -	6	0	
“ Length of the same - - -	28	0	
“ Height of the same - - -	12	0	
“ Interval between the parallel arches -	5	0	
“ Width of arches of communication -	5	7	
“ Length of the same - - -	5	0	

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			Feet.	Inches.
“ Height of the same	-	-	8	0
“ Length of the piers of masonry		-	5	7
“ Breadth of the piers	-	-	5	0
“ Width of recess for embrasures		-	4	0
“ Depth of recess	-	-	2	6
“ Height of recess	-	-	8	0
“ Width of the embrasures	-	-	2	0
“ Height of the embrasures	-	-	4	0

“ The dimensions of the parapets, embrasures, and  
“ loopholes, are as in the first tower.

“ The embrasures or ports in each of the rooms,  
“ and the recesses for those of the second story, are all  
“ arched.

“ The corners of the doors, windows, ports, embrasures,  
“ and many of the salient angles and staircases in the  
“ towers, as well as the broad bases or stone foundations  
“ of the towers and intervening wall, are of a strong  
“ grey granite, with little mixture of mica in it.

“ The rest of those buildings consist of bricks of a  
“ bluish colour. They are laid in laminæ of a brick  
“ thick each; forming, as it were, so many distinct walls  
“ as there are bricks in thickness. They differ in their  
“ dimensions according to the situations in which they  
“ are placed. Those in the front of the wall and towers,  
“ are as follow:



			Feet.	Inches.	View of the great Wall.
“ Thickness of the bricks	-	-	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$	<u>          </u>
“ Width of the same	-	-	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$	
“ Length	-	-	1	3	

“ Those for the terraces of the wall and towers, differ  
 “ only from the former in being perfectly square, each  
 “ side containing fifteen inches. Wherever, for finish-  
 “ ing the tapering tops of the parapets, bricks of the  
 “ usual dimensions would not answer, instead of rudely  
 “ chipping off these to the form required, as has been  
 “ sometimes directed by negligent or ignorant artists,  
 “ care was taken to mould other bricks purposely of the  
 “ form and size proportioned to each separate use. The  
 “ cement or mortar between the different layers of brick,  
 “ was upwards of half an inch in thickness, and had a  
 “ very small proportion of any ingredient in it, to alter  
 “ the perfect whiteness of the calcined limestone.

“ The blue colour of the bricks, led to doubt whether  
 “ they had been exposed to any greater than the sun’s  
 “ common heat, tho they had so long resisted the in-  
 “ fluence of time and weather. It has been ascertained  
 “ by experiment, that a mass of clay or brick contracts  
 “ in its dimensions when exposed to the action of fire;  
 “ and that this contraction is increased in proportion as  
 “ the heat augments; but that the mass does not return  
 “ to its former dimensions after being withdrawn from

View of the  
great Wall.

“ the fire. Had the bricks, used for the great wall, been  
“ baked only in the sun, they would contract when  
“ exposed to a wood fire or red heat; but which, on  
“ trial, turned out not to be the case. Indeed some  
“ of the kilns still subsist near the great wall, where  
“ probably the bricks, of which it is composed, were  
“ burned.

“ The great wall does not appear to have been intend-  
“ ed as a defence against cannon, since the parapets are  
“ insufficient to resist the force of cannon shot. But the  
“ soles of the embrasures of the towers, were observed to  
“ have been pierced with small holes, similar to those  
“ used in Europe for the reception of the swivels of wall-  
“ pieces. The holes appear to be a part of the original  
“ construction of the wall; and it seems difficult to as-  
“ sign them any other purpose, than that of resistance to  
“ the recoil of fire-arms. The field pieces seen in China  
“ are generally mounted with swivels, for which these  
“ holes are well calculated; and tho the parapets are not  
“ capable of resisting cannon shot, they are sufficiently  
“ strong to withstand these small pieces. Several of  
“ them were observed on the parade of the troops at Koo-  
“ pe-koo. They were mounted upon stands, on which  
“ they traversed with swivels. From these considerations,  
“ it does not seem unlikely, that the claim of the Chi-  
“ nese to a very early knowledge of the effects of gun-  
“ powder, is not without foundation.”



From the detail into which Captain Parish has entered with so much care, an accurate idea may be formed of the state of architecture, and mode of defence among the Chinese prior to the Christian era. And a general consideration of this barrier, evinces the resolution and comprehensive views of that government, which could embark in so vast an undertaking; the advanced state of society, which could supply the resources, and regulate the progress of such a work; and the vigour and perseverance with which it was carried to perfection.

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The line it has traced, continues still to be considered as a demarkation between the respective nations of Chinese and Tartars. Tho, since their union, under one absolute dominion, the word of the monarch alone, is followed at once with implicit obedience on the part of all his subjects indiscriminately, yet each people still retains ideas of local claims and jurisdictions.

Soon after the Ambassador had passed the Chinese wall, one of the Tartar attendants was about to be punished for some misdemeanour, by order of the Chinese mandarines; but he resisted with much vehemence, loudly exclaiming, that no Chinese had a right of exercising authority over him on the Tartar side of the great wall.

His Excellency was visited, at the next stage after his arrival in the Tartar territories, by a military mandarine of that nation. He belonged to the palace, and tho of

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the same rank with Van-ta-zhin, the latter would scarcely venture to sit in his presence; so great is the respect affected by the Chinese towards the Tartars of the court.

In the villages beyond the wall, there were yet to be seen several Chinese families, and women with little feet. It is not said, that any of a Tartar race have imitated the Chinese in the mutilation of their limbs; tho they frequently have in other respects.

As the travellers advanced into Tartary, the season was also growing cooler, the roads more rugged, the mountains less richly clothed, the trees, beside different sorts of pines of no great size, were chiefly stunted oaks of the two species called the English and Russian oaks, as well as the aspin, elm, hazel, and walnut trees diminished to the size of shrubs. All these generally grew on the south side of the mountains; the other sides often bearing little more than thorny shrubs, with a scanty covering of parched grass. Bears, wolves, and even tigers are said to harbour in these woods.

In the plains, or rather vallies, that species of the hare abounds, which is described as having the quality, like some other animals in the colder regions, of becoming, from being brown or red in summer, quite white in winter. This hare is remarkable, likewise, for the extraordinary length of his feet and toes, which joining together, when he leaps over snow, form a broad base that supports him from sinking into it.



Hares are seldom hunted by dogs in Tartary; but are driven, as well as other animals of the chase, into snares by crowds of people forming a large circle, from the circumference of which, they gradually approach to the centre, beating the bushes, and making loud noises as they advance. The animals are reduced at last into a very small space, in which they are easily secured.

The dog becomes, particularly in Tartary, the faithful companion of the peasant. It is a small species, with a long recurved tail, of which caprice or fashion does not deprive him; and which is generally leaning to the left, as Linnæus remarks of the domestic dog. That of Tartary seldom barks in the day time.

The prospects which offered themselves to the travellers on the present journey were often pleasing and romantic; but they were limited to narrow bounds. He who, for the first time, is about to pass over a mountainous country, may be apt to expect that he is soon to find himself on elevated ground, in respect to every thing within his view: but it generally is otherwise. Roads are for the most part traced at the foot, instead of rising to the tops, of mountains; and the traveller is frequently doomed to move at the bottom of vallies, with a contracted horizon and a darkened atmosphere.

In villages dispersed through such vallies many of the inhabitants were found labouring under a disorder observed in similar situations in the Alps, and known

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there by the name of goitres, or swelled neck. The glands of the throat begin at an early age to swell, and gradually increase, in some to an enormous size. The swelling begins immediately below the parotid gland, and generally extends under the jaws from ear to ear, affecting all the submaxillary glands. Doctor Gillan estimated that nearly one sixth of the inhabitants he saw had this deformity; which is said, however, not to appear such in the eyes of those villagers. Both sexes are subject to these swellings; but females more than males; the latter removing oftener from the spots where the causes exist, whatever they may be, that occasion them.

These preternatural tumours did not appear to be attended with any other symptoms, affecting the general health or corporal functions of those in whom they were observed. But the minds of many of them were much weakened, and perhaps of all in a less degree. Some were reduced to a state of absolute idiocy. The spectacle of such objects, which fails not to convey a serious and even a melancholy impression to persons who view them for the first time, produces no such effect upon those among whom they are bred. The objects themselves are in their general habits cheerful, and lead a mere animal life, as contradistinguished from that in which any thought or reflection is concerned. As they act alone from instinct, or the mere impulse of the senses, so their actions, however injurious they may happen to



prove to others, are free from intentional malice, and occasion no resentment. Their persons are considered in some degree as sacred; and they are maintained by their families with peculiar care.

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Whatever be the cause which occasions goitres in the human frame, it has no perceptible effect upon other animals. This cause is generally supposed, both in Europe and in Asia, to be the frequent use of snow water. Melted snow is found, indeed, to contain a little more calcareous earth than rain water, together with a very small proportion of the acids of nitre and sea salt; but snow water, however much used in such open countries as are often covered with snow, has not been observed to produce similar obstructions. It is likely, that a particular state of the atmosphere among mountains, must concur towards operating this effect. The part of Tartary where this disease abounds, has many alpine features, much resembling Savoy and Switzerland.

No volcanic production appeared throughout this route. During the seventh or last day's journey, the ridges of the mountains went nearly parallel to the road. Those ridges described almost horizontal lines, consisting of huge rocks of granite, differing much in size from each other, and arranged like the vertebræ of a quadruped. These rocks were covered with a slight sod, but their sides were entirely naked, the earth which formerly had

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adhered to them, having descended considerably lower. About midway between the upper ridge and the bottom of the valley was a perpendicular rock, or antique ruin, for its first appearance gave rise to both conjectures. Its height exceeded two hundred feet. It was sensibly wider at the top than at the base. Its form was irregular. Tall shrubs were growing from its upper surface. One gentleman of the embassy immediately sketched a drawing of it from the road, which was at a considerable distance. From this sketch was taken the engraving in the opposite page. Another gentleman went from the road to examine this object more particularly. It was not the remains of any building; it was not an entire rock; but consisted of indurated clay, inclosing gravel in large masses. It was, no doubt, of a more compact nature than the soil which had surrounded it, and which yielded to the violence of the torrents, sweeping every thing else away, and leaving this inverted pyramid as a monument of the height of the ancient surface of the globe in this particular part of it. The base of such monument denoted the depth to which the earth had been washed away; the light and soft particles being wafted down, and gradually deposited where they have formed the smooth and fertile plains of Pe-che-lee, mentioned in the last chapter, while the harder and heavier parts, soon arrested in their progress, constitute the rough surface of the glens of Tartary. The removal of a layer of soil, two



hundred feet in depth, from the upper to the lower grounds, for such a vast extent, is a greater change upon the globe than any mentioned in the records of mankind. The sudden inundations, of which accounts have been transmitted to posterity, are not described as having produced any permanent effect. Indeed, different parts of the globe itself sufficiently indicate that extraordinary alterations have happened upon its surface since it became of a temperature adapted to animal life. The rock of Gibraltar is not the only eminence in the interior substance of which have been found incorporated the bones of animated beings, who

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must have lived and perished before the formation of the mountains, of which those bones form now a part.

The ascent to Tartary is such, that some parts of it have been ascertained to be fifteen thousand feet above the surface of the Yellow sea. This elevation is known to increase considerably the cool temperature of the atmosphere.

Amidst these high grounds, and a little beyond the inverted pyramid above described, the mountains receding somewhat from each other, opened to the present travellers the valley of Zhe-hol, where his Imperial Majesty retires in summer from his Chinese dominions, to a palace and pleasure grounds; the former called the Seat of grateful Coolness, and the latter the Garden of innumerable Trees. The several stages of the route thither from Pekin, as well as to that capital from the sea side, together with notices of the adjoining country, are marked on the chart, No. 9, of the folio volume.

The Ambassador with his suite and guard proceeded in due order towards Zhe-hol. The road near to it was perceptible from an eminence in the Emperor's garden. From thence, as was afterwards reported to his Excellency, his Imperial Majesty had the curiosity to view the procession of the Embassy. It was received with military honours, amidst a crowd of spectators, on horseback and on foot. Several of the latter were entirely clad in yellow garments. Their heads were covered with



round yellow hats. Some boys also were in the same attire. All these were a sort of inferior lamas or friars, and novices belonging to the temples of that sect of Fo to which the Emperor was attached. They did not seem, notwithstanding the sacred order of which they formed a part, and the garb of honour in which they were clothed, to be much respected by the surrounding multitude; nor did their own demeanour imply any consciousness of dignity, or any attention to exterior decorum, which persons of rank in China are generally solicitous to maintain.

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The edifice, or suite of edifices, destined for the Embassy, was situated near the southern extremity of the town of Zhe-hol, which lay between it and the palace gates. It was situated on the gentle slope of a hill, and consisted of different courts, each upon a higher level than the preceding, and communicating by steps of granite with each other. The whole was sufficiently spacious and convenient, with a pleasant prospect of the Tartar hills, a view of the town, and of a small part of the Emperor's park. The town of Zhe-hol, excepting the houses of mandarines, consisted of miserable hovels full of people. The streets also were crooked, unpaved, and dusty. Immediately beyond it, the imperial garden, the palaces, the temples displayed much grandeur; and magnificence and wretchedness knew no medium.

The principal buildings in this part of Tartary dif-

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ferred little from those of China; and the distribution of the apartments and the furniture were equally simple. The great door of each separate building opened into a hall, communicating on each side with a room of which a part was raised by a platform covered with thick cloth and cushions, for sitting in the day, and sleeping in the night. There were also varnished tables, and a few chairs for visitors. Two mandarines of rank waited upon the Ambassador soon after his arrival, with compliments from his Imperial Majesty, and another from the great Colao, or first minister Ho-choong-taung.

The same day the Legate called upon him, and without preface or apology, delivered him back open the memorial which had been delivered to him sealed, in relation to the ceremony of reception, and which, after a communication of its purport, he had undertaken at Peking to forward to Ho-choong-taung, as mentioned in the last chapter. The Legate wished now to be understood, as having kept that memorial the whole time in his possession; tho it was perfectly well known, not only that he had actually transmitted it to Zhe-hol, but that its contents were acceptable there. It was difficult to trace what occasioned a change of sentiment on this subject; but ancient ideas of pride and claims of pre-eminence became prevalent anew. They were indeed supposed to be urged by the viceroy of Canton, lately arrived at Zhe-hol from Thibet, where he had com-



manded the Chinese troops. He was a declared enemy of the English, representing them as an encroaching people, whom it was dangerous to encourage. He had even recourse to the testimony of the condemned mandarine, already mentioned to have been formerly Hoppo, or chief of the revenue and customs at Canton. This convict was brought expressly for this purpose to Zhehol, and, no doubt, gave such a character of the English, as suited the viceroy's views and prejudiced opinions. The Colao, it seems, was persuaded into the belief of its being desireable that the homage of vassals to the Emperor of China, should be performed by the Ambassador, without any acknowledgement on the part of the Chinese government, of the independence of his own sovereign. It was accordingly thought expedient that the transmission of his Excellency's memorial to the court should not be avowed, in order that there should be no necessity of sending any answer to a proposal which was too reasonable to be rejected; and it was expected that the Ambassador, once in presence of his Imperial Majesty, could not avoid making the usual prosternations without any condition.

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From these circumstances his Excellency became anxious that this business should be explained and settled before it might be necessary for him to make his appearance at the palace. The Colao wished, indeed, to see him there without delay, and to learn from him the

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purport of his Majesty's letter to the Emperor. Had there, however, been no particular motive for his Excellency's declining the visit at that moment, he was too much indisposed to make it. He determined therefore, on every account, to send the Secretary of the Embassy in his room, with a copy of the King's letter, and the memorial returned by the Legate. The Chinese friends of the Ambassador were so apprehensive of being inculpatated as the writers of it, that they desired it to be signed by the page who copied it, to certify it to be his writing. His Excellency gave instructions to the Secretary on every point that was likely to be agitated. The etiquette of the Chinese court not permitting the Secretary to hold, in that capacity, any conversation with the prime Minister, or even to sit down in his presence, it became necessary to make use of the commission of Minister Plenipotentiary, which his Majesty had granted to him, to act in case of the Ambassador's absence or indisposition. In this character he waited upon the Colao, whom he found in a small apartment of the imperial palace. Great and powerful as a vizier in a despotic empire is over all the people, he shrinks into a petty personage in comparison with the absolute prince himself, of whose mansion, however magnificent and vast, a very humble portion is thought sufficient for the relative importance of the mere creature of his favour. The Vizier of China, who enjoyed almost exclusively the confidence of the Emperor,



was said to be a Tartar of obscure birth, and raised from an inferior station about twenty years before, when, while he was upon guard at one of the palace gates, the Emperor passing through it, was struck merely with the comeliness of his countenance; but afterwards finding him to be a man of talents and education, he quickly elevated him to dignity; and he might be said to possess, in fact, under the Emperor, the whole power of the empire.

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So great a rise from so small an origin, may perhaps seem singular to men accustomed to the intermediate orders and regular gradations of a mixed government; but it is not uncommon either in countries, the monarch of which can indulge his fancy or his will without any apprehension of control; or in distracted states, where shining qualities or extraordinary exertions lead rapidly to eminence. It frequently happens in the former case, that the sovereign, having made once his choice, waves for the most part the exercise of his own authority; leading a life of indolence, or indulging in sensual gratifications; but the Emperor of China still continued in an indefatigable attention to the administration of public affairs; having rather divided with his Vizier, than conferred upon him, the whole care of his vast empire. His Imperial Majesty was not however blindly guided by his advice; and once, on conceiving that he had attempted to impose upon his master by a falsehood,

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he was disgraced as suddenly as he had formerly been raised; and he was reduced to his original low situation for about a fortnight; when a fortunate accident having proved to the sovereign that there was no real ground for his dissatisfaction, he restored his late servant to his wonted favour, and to a power bounded only by his own.

At the audiencé of the Colao, he was seated on a platform covered with silk, between two Tartar and two Chinese mandarines of state. A chair was brought for the English Minister. The Legate, several other mandarines, and the interpreter, were obliged to stand the whole time. The Colao went through the formality of demanding what was the object of the British Embassy to China; a demand that easily was satisfied, by referring him to his Majesty's letter to the Emperor, of which a copy was immediately presented to him in Chinese; a circumstance which, as well as the purport of the letter, seemed to be grateful to him. After a short pause, the Ambassador's memorial was laid before him, to which he affected to be a stranger. He seemed, however, to be prepared to make objections to the proposal it contained, which were answered with the obvious arguments so simple a case supplied, and in the manner prescribed by his Excellency. The discussion terminated by the Colao's desiring his reasons to be reported to the Ambassador for his consideration.



It was observable, that during this conference, the hall in which it was held was full of people belonging to the palace, who all were allowed to listen to what passed; as if it was considered, that in treating with foreigners, so remote in every respect from China, there could be nothing which it was necessary to reserve from the knowledge of any of the natives of it. Such a number of spectators contributed, perhaps, to induce the Colao to maintain in their presence an air of dignified reserve; and in his manners and conversation, he seemed willing to convey the idea, that whatever civilities he shewed to the English Minister, were the condescensions of national as well as personal superiority. It was, no doubt, from sentiments of national pride, that the determination seemed to have been taken of avoiding, if possible, to return the compliment which the Ambassador was willing to pay at the Emperor's court.

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The Legate, together with two other mandarines on the part of the Colao, waited upon his Excellency the next day, and urged him to give up the contested point; concerning which they were driven to the necessity of fluctuating between the opposite and contradictory efforts, of representing the prostration as a mere exterior and unmeaning ceremony, when they proposed to the Ambassador to perform it towards the Emperor; but of serious and momentous import, when the like was required in return from a Chinese to his Britannic

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Majesty. They even ventured to hint some personal inconvenience to his Excellency, in default of his unconditional compliance: which circumstance afforded him an opportunity of testifying how much his sense of duty to his sovereign, was above any sense of danger; and of declaring, that it became particularly indispensable for him to take care, either that the ceremony should be reciprocal, or that there should be something to distinguish a compliment to be paid on the part of a great and independant sovereign, from the homage of tributary princes, since an attempt had been made already to confound them, in giving the name of *tribute* to the British presents, in the inscriptions placed upon them by the Chinese. The Ambassador's knowledge of this circumstance, forced the mandarines to feel the propriety of his proposal; and to ask him how far he thought he might, consistently with his duty, but in a manner different from the prostration of tributaries, mark his personal respect to his Imperial Majesty? His Excellency observed, that to his own sovereign, to whom he was bound by every bond of allegiance and attachment, he bent, on approaching him, upon one knee; and that he was willing to demonstrate in the same manner, his respectful sentiments towards his Imperial Majesty.

With this answer the mandarines appeared extremely pleased; and said that they would return soon with the determination of the court, either to agree to the reci-



procal ceremony as proposed by the Ambassador, or to accept of the English obeisance in lieu of the Chinese prostration.

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In the mean time the conversation which passed at the palace with the Colao, spread quickly through Zhe-hol. Several persons, who saw in the Embassy only a few solitary foreigners, entirely at the mercy of the court which they came to visit, were at a loss to conceive how they could presume to propose conditions to it, or hesitate to obey its pleasure. Others confidently predicted, that they would be sent back without being admitted to an audience. The Chinese interpreter, whose zealous attachment to the Embassy rendered him anxiously solicitous about it, began to be apprehensive lest some of his countrymen attendant on it should be tempted to misbehave, under the notion, that in the present juncture little attention would be paid to complaints against them. There was occasion however to make some, at this moment, relative to provisions, which were instantly redressed; and supplies were furnished even in greater profusion than before.

While the business of the ceremony was in suspense, several of the gentlemen of the Embassy made a short excursion in the environs of Zhe-hol. They were not encouraged to do so by the mandarines, who always were in dread that some inconvenience might result from indiscretion or imprudence on the part of the strangers,

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or from the disposition to insult foreigners, which is not uncommon in the rabble any where. The rigorous maxims of the Chinese government render the mandarines responsible for whatever evil it is supposed possible for them to have prevented. On this account, precautions were taken to shut out the common people from entering within the inclosure inhabited by the Embassy, as well as the servants and inferior persons belonging to it, from passing the gates without leave. The Chinese, especially men of business, such as are most of the mandarines, have little idea of the use or pleasure of walking abroad, merely for the sake of exercise, or for seeing prospects, or the situation of countries, unless with military, and, consequently, suspicious views. Under the general instruction however which they had received of attending to the accommodation and wishes of the Embassy, they supplied horses and guides upon the occasion of this excursion.

The gentlemen who were of the party soon ascended heights, from whence they had an opportunity of overlooking the valley of Zhe-hol winding between the hills; and fertile indeed, but not cultivated with the care or art displayed within the proper boundaries of China. The valley was watered with a stream gliding, at that dry season, gently through it, and wafting in its sands many particles of gold. The adjoining hills were neither steep nor lofty. They consisted, at least near the surface, of



clay and gravel. They presented no salient and retiring angles, such as are produced by powerful torrents making their way through mountains; nor did they form any regular range; but, taken collectively, resembled a confused sea, in which the broken billows lie in different directions, as tossed by opposite gales succeeding suddenly to each other. The figure indeed of those hills, and the matters of which they were composed, indicated nothing like the original action of fire upon them; but left sufficient traces of the operation of water covering for a long time, and mouldering this portion of the surface of the globe. It had the appearance of having been once clothed with wood. In the upper and most exposed parts nothing now remained that was not stunted. Timber was scarce in all this neighbourhood. The improvidence of former generations, in not planting young trees in proportion as they cut down the old ones, was now severely felt by their posterity.

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The hills, thus bare of trees, were not sufficient to attract much moisture. The gardens of the poorest people were not suffered to depend on the chance of rain; but had each a well dug in it for the purpose of irrigation. The bucket for drawing up the water, instead of being made of staves, was composed of ozier twigs, wattled or platted together with so much care and ingenuity, as to be perfectly capable of holding any liquid. Those gardens abounded in garlick and other acrid and aromatic vege-

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tables, serving as a relish to the millet and other grain on which the peasants principally subsisted. From the heights, several handsome buildings were observed in pleasant situations in the vallies. They were first thought to belong to some of the principal families, or great officers about the court; but proved to be different convents of lamas, founded by the Emperors of the present dynasty.

On the return of the party towards home, they perceived beyond the town of Zhe-hol, upon an eminence, with a ridge of higher mountains within sight, such another inverted pyramid of earth, or stone, as has been already described in the last day's journey from Peking. Some of the gentlemen had an inclination to go and examine it; but the mandarines very gravely told them, that there would be an impropriety in attempting to do so; as, from the eminence on which it was situated, a view might be had of that part of the imperial gardens consecrated to the use of the ladies of the palace, and from whence they might be observed walking through the grounds; tho at the distance of three or four miles.

The attention of the whole Embassy was now taken up in preparations to wait upon the Emperor. It had been announced to the Ambassador, that his Imperial Majesty would be satisfied with the same form of respectful obeisance from the English, which they were in the habit of paying to their own sovereign. This



determination relieved the Ambassador from a load of much anxiety; and removed the necessity of fixing in his own mind, where, in the present circumstances, it became him to draw the line between the obligation of resisting, and the propriety of yielding to, the wishes of the Imperial court. It was whispered, that the good sense and liberality of the Emperor himself, cloyed too perhaps with adoration, rendered him much more inclined than any of his advisers, to dispense with that ceremony in the present instance.

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His Excellency was aware, that the sort of triumph he had gained, would contribute to make him still more obnoxious to the Chinese and Tartar enemies of the English; tho it heightened very much the esteem and respect of the people at large, for the nation in whose favour so unusual an exception was about to be made; and the practical consequences of such sentiments, could scarcely fail to operate to its advantages in every connection, commercial and political, between the two countries. This relaxation of a rule from which no deviation had before been made, excited indeed much surprise, and perhaps even murmuring, from those whose minds were guided by precedent alone; but it confirmed the opinion of the veteran missionary at Peking, that the mere pleas of custom, however usually and strongly urged by the Chinese, would not stand always against reason, accompanied by temper and perseverance.

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The birth-day of the Emperor, on the occasion of which a great number of ambassadors and tributary princes was assembled at Zhe-hol, was the seventeenth of September. A day however previous to it, the fourteenth of the same month, was fixed for the particular reception of the British Embassy.

In the interval, such of the presents as had been brought to Zhe-hol, were carried to the palace; and very civil messages, implying the satisfaction they gave to his Imperial Majesty, were conveyed to the Ambassador.

His Excellency likewise paid a private visit to the Colao, who received him with frankness and affability, no longer disturbed by a pending contest, and with all the attention due to his rank and character. After several expressions of civility on both sides, and satisfactory answers to questions of curiosity concerning Europe, and particularly England, on the part of Ho-choong-taung, the Ambassador entered into conversation, in which he endeavoured to impress the Colao with a full sense of the propriety and fairness of the past conduct, and the sincerity and uprightness of the future intentions of his Majesty towards China. He dwelt upon the pacific and benevolent maxims of his government, of which the great object was the extension of commerce for the general benefit of mankind. He took occasion also to mention, as an incidental matter of information,



not of argument, that upon the dissolution of the Mogul empire of Hindostan, in consequence of internal dissensions, some of the maritime provinces in the neighbourhood of British settlements claimed the protection of their arms, which was granted without removing the native tributary princes, who were still in possession of their dignities; but that in other respects, the English did not interfere in the contests of the neighbouring countries. The Colao gave not the least opening to be more particular in the disavowal of any aid against the people of Thibet.

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His Excellency found it necessary to use great tenderness, and many qualified expressions, in conveying any idea that a connection between Great Britain and China could be of any importance to the latter, either by the introduction of European commodities, of which taken in barter, the necessity was not felt; or by the supply of cotton or of rice from India, which some of the Chinese provinces were equally fit to cultivate; or of bullion, of which the increase had sometimes the inconvenience of unequally increasing the prices of the useful or necessary articles of life; or, lastly, by the assistance of a naval force to destroy the pirates on the coast, against whose mischief the sure resource existed of an internal communication by rivers and canals. Such were the avowed or affected notions entertained by the Chinese government, of the superiority or independence

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of the empire, that no transaction with foreigners was admissible by it on the ground of reciprocal benefit, but as a grace and condescension from the former to the latter.

The Ambassador was not unwilling to negotiate even on those terms; and the Colao obligingly said, that they should have frequent opportunities of meeting during the continuance of his Excellency's visit at the Chinese court.

The conference ended as it had begun, with every appearance of cordiality and satisfaction on both sides. Messages of civility, with presents of fruit and sweat-meats, soon followed both from the Emperor and the Colao.

The manners of Ho-choong-taung were not less pleasing than his understanding was penetrating and acute. He seemed indeed to possess the qualities of a consummate statesman. He was called to office and authority, no doubt, by the mere favour of the sovereign, as must be the case in most monarchies; but he was confirmed and maintained in it by the approving voice of such persons of rank and eminence as have influence in the determinations of the most absolute governments. In those governments in Asia, the prince is not afraid, as is the case in Europe, to debase his dignity by alliances with his subjects; and the number of children of Asiatic monarchs, by different wives and concubines, occasion



so many matrimonial connexions with the crown, that the influence arising from them is counteracted by competition. A tie however of this sort, added to power already acquired, increases and secures it. A daughter of the Emperor is married to a son of Ho-choong-taung. This circumstance was thought sufficient to alarm some of the imperial family, and other loyal subjects of the empire, as if they were fearful of the heights to which the ambition of that favourite might aspire. One man, indiscreetly zealous, undertook to present a memorial to his Imperial Majesty, exhorting him to declare his successor, as a measure of safety, to prevent future dissensions in the empire.

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Were the rules of descent in favour of primogeniture to be prevalent in the Chinese empire, a grandson of the Emperor, by his eldest son deceased, would have the fairest claim; but the maxims of that government leave the succession entirely at the choice of the reigning prince, who may exclude, as has been instanced, even his own offspring and family. The advice obtruded by an individual to the sovereign, to declare his choice, was highly offensive to him. The adviser was seized, and capitally punished: the tribunal, before which he was tried, having ranked his presumption amongst the most heinous crimes. His Imperial Majesty, however, thought proper to publish in the gazettes of the capital, his reasons for declining to follow such advice. They were

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founded on the danger of exciting, by the nomination of a successor, a premature ambition in a young mind, and of producing a faction in opposition to the reigning sovereign; an instance of which had happened in his own dynasty.

On the present occasion, his Imperial Majesty was resolved that the successor to his crown, should, while he held it himself, remain unknown. But he took that opportunity of announcing to his subjects, that, having already sat upon the throne about half a century, he should retire from the cares of government if he should live to complete the sixtieth year of his reign, which would happen in the year 1796, when he would exercise the high prerogative he enjoyed of appointing the fittest person to succeed him; but that if his death should take place before that period, his appointment of a successor in writing, would be found in a particular apartment of the palace. So vain are, however, sometimes the precautions taken by mortals to regulate events after their decease, that a story is privately circulated of his own father, Yong-ching, having mounted the throne, by suddenly entering the palace in the last moments of his predecessor, and substituting his own name in a testament intended for the exaltation of another.

On the day of the Ambassador's presentation to the Emperor, most of his family attended. No marked preference was perceptible, or extraordinary respect shewn,



to any one of them above the rest. On that morning the Ambassador and gentlemen of the Embassy went before day light, as was announced to be proper, to the garden of the palace of Zhe-hol. In the middle of the garden was a spacious and magnificent tent, supported by gilded, or painted and varnished pillars. The canvas of which it was composed, did not follow the obliquity of the cords along their whole length to the pegs fastened in the ground; but about midway was suffered to hang perpendicularly down, while the upper part of the canvas constituted the roof. Within the tent was placed a throne, such as has been described in a former chapter, with windows in the sides of the tent, to throw light particularly upon that part of it. Opposite to the throne was a wide opening, from whence a yellow fly tent projected to a considerable distance. The furniture of the tent was elegant, without glitter or affected embellishments. Several small round tents were pitched in front, and one of an oblong form immediately behind. The latter was intended for the Emperor, in case he should choose to retire to it from his throne. It had a sofa, or bed, at one extremity. The remainder was adorned with a variety of musquets and sabres European and Asiatic. Of the small tents in front, one was for the use of the Embassy while it was in waiting for the arrival of the Emperor. Some of the others were destined, in the same manner, for the se-

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veral tributary princes of Tartary, and delegates from other tributary states, who were assembled at Zhe-hol on the occasion of the Emperor's birth-day; and who attended, on this day, to grace the reception of the English Ambassador; some tents also were intended for the male branches of the Emperor's family, and the principal officers of state. In the great tent, his Imperial Majesty was to receive, seated on his throne, as a particular distinction, the delegate from the King of Great Britain.

It was not merely for the convenience of a great space to contain the concourse of persons meeting on this occasion, that a tent was preferred to a large apartment in the palace. The Tartar dynasty, in conforming in most instances, to the customs of a much more numerous and more civilized, tho vanquished nation, retained still a predilection for its own ancient manners, in which occasionally, and upon Tartar ground, it took a pleasure in indulging. The moveable dwelling of a tent was, more than a permanent palace of stone and timber, the favourite residence of a Tartar sovereign.

The tributary princes, those of the Imperial family, and the great mandarines of the court, formed together no inconsiderable groupe while they were in waiting in front of the great tent. Each was decorated with distinctive marks of the rank bestowed upon him by the Emperor.

Several of the courtiers were partly dressed in English cloth, instead of silk or furs, in which only it had



hitherto been allowed to appear before his Imperial Majesty. As there had not been lately any particular scarcity of those materials, the regulation which permits the use of English cloths at court, was understood to be intended as a compliment to the British Embassy; and it was so represented to the Ambassador. The consumption of that article is likely to increase considerably, by the example of wearing it, which will be set in future by the higher orders of mandarines; and is an advantage granted through civility, which could not be demanded in a commercial treaty.

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The princes were distinguished by the transparent red button, which marks the highest of the nine orders, as they were fixed in the present century by the Emperor Yong-ching. None of the persons assembled on this occasion, wore a mark inferior to the opaque red button, which denotes the second order in the state. Some were honoured with peacocks' feathers stuck in an agate tube, and pendant from the bonnet. In this dignity there are three degrees, according to the number of feathers granted to the wearer. He to whom three feathers had been presented by Imperial favour, thought himself thrice great and happy.

Those personages had each, in his own district, a circle of courtiers dependant on him, and was abundantly impressed with ideas of his own importance; but all were, in this place, confounded in the crowd,

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and their grandeur lost in the contemplation of that of his Imperial Majesty. It was the etiquette of respect towards him, to be in waiting for him a considerable time. Some remained part of the night in the garden for this purpose. The Emperor was indeed expected not long after the dawn of day. This hour of meeting, so different from that of nations which had passed through the various stages of civilization, to the period of indolence and luxury, brought back to recollection the usual hunting occupation of this people, whose daily chace began as soon as the rising sun enabled them to perceive and pursue their prey.

Before the Emperor's arrival, the Ambassador's small tent was filled with a succession of persons, whom curiosity excited, or civility induced, to visit him. Among them was a brother of the Emperor, a plain unaffected man, somewhat above the middle size, and past the middle age; two of the Emperor's sons, and as many grandsons; the former well-looking men, courteous and inquisitive; the latter young, tall, and remarkably handsome. Among the tributaries was one who lived in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and spoke the Arabic language. Knowing, probably, somewhat more of Europe than the rest, he seemed to take a greater interest in what related to the Embassy; but its avowed and particular friend, was the respectable viceroy of Pe-che-lee; who testified such pleasure in renewing his acquaintance



with the Ambassador, and spoke of him in terms of so much esteem to the surrounding circle, that the persons who composed it, became strongly prepossessed in his Excellency's favour. The whole Embassy seemed to feel more confidence in the viceroy's presence.

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Soon after day-light the sound of several instruments, and the confused voices of men at a distance, announced the Emperor's approach. He soon appeared from behind a high and perpendicular mountain, skirted with trees, as if from a sacred grove, preceded by a number of persons busied in proclaiming aloud his virtues and his power. He was seated in a sort of open chair, or triumphal car, borne by sixteen men; and was accompanied and followed by guards, officers of the household, high flag and umbrella bearers, and music. His approach to the tent of audience is delineated in the 25th plate of the folio volume. He was clad in plain dark silk, with a velvet bonnet, in form not much different from the bonnet of Scotch Highlanders; on the front of it was placed a large pearl, which was the only jewel or ornament he appeared to have about him.

On his entrance into the tent he mounted immediately the throne by the front steps, consecrated to his use alone. Ho-choong-taung, and two of the principal persons of his household, were close to him, and always spoke to him upon their knees. The princes of his family, the tributaries and great officers of state being already arranged

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in their respective places in the tent, the president of the tribunal of rites conducted the Ambassador, who was attended by his page and Chinese interpreter, and accompanied by the Minister Plenipotentiary, near to the foot of the throne, on the left hand side, which according to the usages of China, so often the reverse of those of Europe, is accounted the place of honour. The other gentlemen of the Embassy, together with a great number of mandarines and officers of inferior dignity, stood at the great opening of the tent, from whence most of the ceremonies that passed within it, could be observed.

His Excellency was habited in a richly embroidered suit of velvet, adorned with a diamond badge and star, of the Order of the Bath. Over the suit he wore a long mantle of the same order, sufficiently ample to cover the limbs of the wearer. An attention to Chinese ideas and manners, rendered the choice in dress of some importance; and accounts for this mention of it. The particular regard, in every instance, paid by that nation to exterior appearances, affects even the system of their apparel, which is calculated to inspire gravity and reserve. For this purpose, they use forms the most distant from those which discover the naked figure. Indeed, among the most savage people, few or none are found to whom an interior sentiment, unconnected with any caution against inclemency of weather, does not suggest the propriety of covering some portion of the human frame.



This sentiment, to which is given the name of decency, as pointing out what is becoming to do, increases generally with the progress of civilization and refinement; and is carried no where perhaps so far as among the Chinese, who hide, for the most part in their loose and flowing robes, the bulk and form of their limbs. In this respect, there is scarcely any difference between the dresses of the two sexes. Even the imitation by art, of the human figure, either naked, or covered only with such vestments as follow and display the contour of the body, is offensive to Chinese delicacy; a delicacy which has retarded the progress of painting and sculpture, as far at least as relates to such subjects, in that country. It has also led to the obligation imposed upon the missionaries to adopt the dress of the natives, as being more chaste and decent than the close and short clothes of modern Europe.

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The broad mantle, which as a Knight of the Order of the Bath the Ambassador was entitled to wear, was somewhat upon the plan of dress most pleasing to the Chinese. Upon the same principles, the Minister Plenipotentiary, being an Honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, wore the scarlet gown of that degree, which happened also to be suitable in a government where degrees in learning lead to every kind of political situation. The Ambassador, instructed by the president of the tribunal of rites, held the large and magnificent square box of gold, adorned with jewels, in

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which was inclosed his Majesty's letter to the Emperor, between both hands lifted above his head; and in that manner ascending the few steps that led to the throne, and bending on one knee, presented the box, with a short address, to his Imperial Majesty; who, graciously receiving the same with his own hands, placed it by his side, and expressed "the satisfaction he felt at the testimony which his Britannic Majesty gave to him of his esteem and good will, in sending him an Embassy, with a letter, and rare presents; that he, on his part, entertained sentiments of the same kind towards the sovereign of Great Britain, and hoped that harmony should always be maintained among their respective subjects."

This mode of reception of the representative of the King of Great Britain, was considered by the Chinese court, as particularly honourable and distinguished: Embassadors being seldom received by the Emperor on his throne, or their credentials delivered by them into his own hands, but into that of one of his courtiers. These distinctions, so little material in themselves, were however understood by this refined people as significant of a change in the opinions of their government in respect to the English; and made a favourable impression upon their minds.

His Imperial Majesty, after a little more conversation with the Embassador, gave, as the first present from him to his Majesty, a gem, or precious stone, as it was called by the Chinese, and accounted by them of high value.



It was upwards of a foot in length, and curiously carved into a form intended to resemble a sceptre, such as is always placed upon the Imperial throne, and is considered as emblematic of prosperity and peace.

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The Chinese etiquette requiring that Embassadors should, besides the presents brought in the name of the sovereign, offer others on their own part, his Excellency, and the Minister, or as the Chinese called him, the inferior Embassador, respectfully presented theirs; which his Imperial Majesty condescended to receive, and gave in return others to them. Those presents were probably, on both sides, less valuable in the estimation of the receivers than in that of the donors; but were mutually acceptable, upon the consideration of being tokens of respect on the one part, and of favour and good will upon the other.

During the ceremonies, his Imperial Majesty appeared perfectly unreserved, cheerful, and unaffected. The frontispiece to the first volume of this work, is a portrait of him, from a drawing by Mr. Alexander, one of the draughtsmen to the Embassy. It was made under unfavourable circumstances; yet the person, dress, and manner, are perfectly like the original; but the features of the face, which were taken by stealth, and at a glance, bear a less strong resemblance. This, of all the drawings made by Mr. Alexander throughout the route, the gentlemen of the Embassy, who had an opportunity of com-

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paring them with the originals, thought the only one which was defective. To the facility and truth with which he caught with his pencil the most striking objects, and costume of the country, as the Embassy passed rapidly along, this work is principally indebted for the ornamental part of it, in which every plate is a faithful copy after nature.

To render the portrait of his Imperial Majesty more correct, it might have been proper to draw the eye more full and clear, and the countenance more open and cheerful. Such at least it was during the interview with the Ambassador, which was lengthened by interpreting whatever was said by either party.

His Imperial Majesty, adverting to the inconvenience arising from such a circumstance, inquired from Ho-choong-taung, whether any person of the Embassy understood the Chinese language; and being informed that the Ambassador's page, a boy then in his thirteenth year, had alone made some proficiency in it, the Emperor had the curiosity to have the youth brought up to the throne, and desired him to speak Chinese. Either what he said, or his modest countenance, or manner, was so pleasing to his Imperial Majesty, that he took from his girdle a purse, hanging from it for holding areca nut, and presented it to him.

Purses are the ribands of the Chinese monarch, which he distributes as rewards of merit among his subjects;



but his own purse was deemed a mark of personal favour, according to the ideas of eastern nations, among whom any thing worn by the person of the sovereign, is prized beyond all other gifts. It procured for the young favourite the notice and caresses of many of the mandarines, while others perhaps envied his good fortune. This Imperial purse is not at all magnificent, being of plain yellow silk, with the figure of the five-clawed dragon, and some Tartar characters worked into it. It is delineated in the annexed engraving, together with one of the sceptres intended as presents from his Imperial Majesty.

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After these ceremonies were over, some Hindoo ambassadors from Pegu, and Mahometans from the neighbourhood of the Caspian, were introduced to the Emperor on the right hand side of the throne. They repeated nine times the most devout prostrations, and were quickly dismissed. The English Ambassador, and the three persons who accompanied him, were then conducted to cushions, on which they sat to the left of his Imperial Majesty. The princes of the Imperial family, the chief Tartar tributaries, and highest mandarines of the court, were seated according to their ranks, nearer to, or farther from, the throne. His Excellency was placed about midway between it and the opposite extremity of the tent. A table was laid for every two guests. As soon as all were seated, the tables were uncovered, and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The tables were small; but on each was a pyramid of dishes or bowls piled upon each other, containing viands and fruits in vast variety. A table was placed likewise for his Imperial Majesty before the throne; and he seemed to partake heartily of the fare that was set before him. Tea was also served. The dishes and cups were carried to him with hands uplifted over the head, in the same manner as the gold box had been borne by the Ambassador.

An attentive consideration of those ceremonies, which have thus the appearance of being meant only to mark



the prodigious distance between the sovereign and his subjects in a monarchy altogether absolute, has sometimes led to a conjecture, that they were not originally devised, nor have since continued to be exacted, for the sole purpose of gratification. It is obvious, that during the performance of them, they effect a physical, as well as imply a moral, inequality between the party requiring, and him who pays, such homage. The former, tho superior to all open force, may yet be conscious of being liable to private treachery; and the suspicious mind, which frequently accompanies unbounded power, may have suggested such precautions against the latent and desperate designs of individuals admitted to approach the person who possesses it. The prostrations, the kneeling, the hands uplifted above the head, certainly render attacks less practicable from people in those postures.

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A circumstance not less remarkable than those ceremonies, was the solemnity and silence, approaching to religious awe, with which the whole business was conducted. No conversation among the guests, no bustle among the attendants. The commanding feature of the scene, was the calm dignity and sober pomp of Asiatic grandeur, which European refinements have not yet attained.

Throughout the day the Emperor's attention to his European guests did not abate. During the repast, he sent them several dishes from his own table; and, when it

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was over, he sent for them; and presented with his own hands to them, a goblet of warm Chinese wine, not unlike Madeira of an inferior quality. He asked the Ambassador the age of his own sovereign; of which being informed, he immediately replied, that he heartily wished him to equal himself in years, which had already amounted to eighty three, and with as perfect health. He was indeed yet so hale and vigorous, that he scarcely appeared to have existed as many years, fifty-seven, as, in fact, he had governed the empire. When the festival was entirely over, and he descended from his throne, he marched firm and erect, and without the least symptom of infirmity, to the open chair that was waiting for him.

Soon after the Ambassador's return home, he received from the Emperor presents of silks, porcelaine, and tea for himself, and all the gentlemen of his suite. The silks were generally of a close and firm texture, and of a grave colour, such as were worne by men. Some were woven into patterns of dresses, with the four clawed dragon, or Imperial tyger; and some with the Chinese pheasant, embroidered in silk of tints more lively than the ground; the former intended for military, and the latter for civil, mandarines of rank. The porcelaine consisted of detached pieces, slightly differing in form from those which are generally exported. The tea was made up into balls of different sizes, by means of a glu-



tinous liquid, which united the leaves together without altering their qualities; the tea thus preserving its original flavour. It is brought from the southern province of Yunnan, and is not usually imported into England. This species of tea is highly prized in China; but habit has so much power over taste, that the English preferred that to which they had been accustomed.

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Among the presents of fruits which were occasionally sent to the Ambassador, were some white grapes of an uncommon form, being more oblong than olives, and about the size of the olives of Spain.

Almost every intercourse in China between superiors and inferiors, is accompanied or followed by reciprocal presents; but those made by the former are granted as *donations*, while those on the part of the latter, are accepted as *offerings*. Chinese terms correspondent to these, are still applied to the presents passing between the Emperor and foreign princes, according to the official stile of arrogated superiority affected on these occasions by the Chinese court; such as the tone that was formerly assumed by the chancery of the German empire towards the other European powers. But when the Emperor of China has occasion to make mention of himself, especially if contradistinguished from any of his ancestors, or predecessors on the throne, he uses the most modest, and indeed humble, expressions, in every thing that relates to his own person, according to the system of

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Chinese manners; which, in the excess of precaution against egotism, require, in the mention of one's self, that the most abject terms should be employed, and the most exalted towards those who are addressed.

The next object of civility immediately from the Emperor, was an invitation to his Excellency and his suite to see the gardens or pleasure grounds of Zhe-hol. In proceeding towards them at the early hour in the morning, at which all transactions are begun at this punctual court, they met his Imperial Majesty, who stopped to receive the Ambassador's salutations, and to tell him that " he was going to his devotions in the temple " of Poo-ta-la; that as they did not adore the same gods, " he would not desire his Excellency to accompany him; " but that he had ordered his ministers to attend him " through his gardens."

The Ambassador, who thought that the appointment of any courtier of rank, unoccupied with the affairs of state, to accompany him on the proposed excursion, would have been a sufficient testimony of the Emperor's attention, was surprised to find Ho-choong-taung himself waiting in a pavilion for him. The great Vizier of the empire, he, whom the people almost considered as a second Emperor, was now ordered to give up some portion of his time from the calls and cares of government, to keep a stranger company in a mere tour of pleasure and curiosity.



The satisfaction which his Excellency derived from a circumstance that might contribute to an intimacy favourable to the general object of his mission, was damped by the presence of the Thibet general, who accompanied the Colao, as if fearful of the Ambassador's gaining any ground with him, or that any explanation relative to the Thibet war might take place between them. The general's brother, who had a considerable share in the administration, was also present, together with another chieftain of high quality.

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These personages took the trouble of conducting his Excellency and his suite through the pleasure grounds of a vast enclosure, forming, however, only a part of those great gardens, the remainder being reserved for the use of the female part of the Imperial family, where those ministers had admission as little as the English. They rode through a verdant valley, in which several trees, particularly willows of an uncommonly large girth, were interspersed, and between which the grass was suffered to attain its most luxuriant height, with little interruption from cattle or the mower. Arriving at the shores of an extensive lake of an irregular form, they sailed upon it till the yachts, in which they had embarked, were interrupted by a bridge thrown over the lake in the narrowest part; and beyond which it seemed to lose itself in distance and obscurity. The surface of the water was partly covered with the *lien-wha*, or species of the lily

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mentioned in the last chapter to be growing in Pekin; and which, tho in a more northern situation, and at a cooler season of the year, still adorned the lake with its spreading leaves and fragrant flowers.

The party stopped at a number of small palaces, near the water's edge, there being no one very considerable edifice. There were other buildings erected on the pinnacles of the highest hills, and some buried in the dark recesses of the deepest vallies. They differed in construction and ornament from each other, almost every one having something, in the plan of it, analogous to the situation and surrounding objects; but, within each, was generally a public hall, having in the midst a throne and a few side rooms: the whole furnished with works of art from Europe, and rare or curious productions of nature found in Tartary. Among the later was an agate of extraordinary size and beauty, supported on a marble pedestal, and standing in one of the pavilions upon the lake. This agate, of which there is an engraving on the opposite page, is four feet in length, carved into a landscape, and bears a copy of verses cut into it, which were written by the Emperor. The best works of art by natives of the country were carvings in wood, descriptive of natural objects grouped together with taste, and executed with truth and delicacy. Some of the walls were covered with paintings, representing the pleasures of the chase in Tartary. In these the Emperor



is always seen at full gallop, shooting wild beasts with arrows. These paintings cannot stand the test of European criticism. The trees, the birds, some part of the landscape, and even the animals, were drawn with accuracy; but they failed in the human figure, with which the spectator being better acquainted, can more easily perceive where the imitation of it is defective. The proportions, the perspective were not preserved; and the Chinese, tho they succeed in a correct, and sometimes lively delineation of individual objects, cannot properly be said, in the present state of their arts, to be equal to the design and composition of a picture. One European

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portrait of a woman, of indifferent workmanship, was seen hanging in one of the rooms. A well executed statue in marble, of a naked boy resting upon his knees and hands, was discovered in a bed-chamber; and the figures in stone of a few animals stood in a flower garden; beside monstrous and disgusting lions and tigers, in porcelaine, before several of the buildings. The decorations which most abounded, and seemed to be most admired by the conductors of the party, were those artificial figures of men and animals, imported from Europe, which, by means of internal springs and wheels, produce movements apparently spontaneous. When these machines appeared first in China, they were considered as almost supernatural, and fetched enormous prices.

In continuing their ride, the party found that the grounds included the utmost inequality of surface; some bearing the hardy oaks of northern hills, and others the tender plants of southern vallies. Where a wide plain happened to occur, massy rocks were heaped together to diversify the scene; and the whole seemed calculated to exhibit the pleasing variety and striking contrast of the ruggedness of wild, and the softness of cultivated, nature.

The gardens were enlivened by the movements, as well as sounds, of different kinds of herbivorous animals, both quadrupeds and birds; but no menagerie of wild beasts was perceived. Some monstrous varieties of gold and silver fishes were seen playing in ponds of pellucid



water, upon a bottom studded with pebbles of agate, jasper, and other precious stones.

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Throughout these grounds, they met no gravel walks; no trees planted in belts, nor collected in clumps. Every thing seemed to be avoided which betrayed a regularity of design. Nothing was observed to be directed, unless for very short distances, by straight lines, or to turn at right angles. Natural objects seemed scattered round by accident, in such a manner as to render their position pleasing; while many of the works of human labour, tho answering every purpose of convenience, were made to appear the produce of rustic hands, without the assistance of a tool.

Some of the elegancies and beauties which are described as taking place in Chinese gardens, were not perceived by the present visitors; but the gardens of Yuen-min-yuen near Peking, from whence those descriptions are chiefly taken, are supposed to be more complete than those of Zhe-hol; and it were presumptuous to assert, that what is omitted in the one, has been falsely attributed to the other.

These strangers had no chance of seeing any part, if such there be at Zhe-hol, of the town in miniature, which is supposed to be enclosed within the boundaries of the garden destined for the ladies of the palace, where the scenes of common life, and the transactions and confusion of the capital, are faithfully represented, accord-

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ing to the accounts of a missionary, who, in quality of an artist, is said to have been employed in the decoration of such a place, in the female part of the gardens at Yuen-min-yuen. That account, however it has been doubted, is not improbable. The ladies of the palace, shut out from the world, would, no doubt, be delighted by such a representation of what passes in it; and the Emperor could feel no reluctance in gratifying their curiosity, and, in some instances, his own. The Ambassador, in a former mission to Russia, saw, at one of the Imperial palaces of Petersburg, the image of a town, with a number of workshops and warehouses, pretended tradesmen, and the usual business of life, represented in a very lively manner for the amusement of the court; tho it promised less entertainment there, where none of the ladies were debarred, like those of China, from the sight of what was really passing in the world.

During the excursion through the gardens of Zhe-hol, which lasted several hours, Ho-choong-taung paid great attention to the Ambassador, and indeed displayed all the good breeding and politeness of an experienced courtier. The deportment likewise of the other minister was affable and obliging; not so, that of his brother, the Thibet commander, which was formal and repulsive. The violent prepossession he had imbibed against the English, was not attempted to be concealed by him. He had had, no doubt, occasion, whilst at Canton, to observe



their bold and adventurous spirit; and the idea of their wealth and power, capable of vying even with the Chinese empire, was not, perhaps, what had given him the least offence. It was in vain that the Ambassador endeavoured to conciliate his good humour, by introducing the subject of his reputation as a warrior. It was natural to expect that he would be flattered by a proposal to him, as a judge of military exercises, to see a specimen of European evolutions performed by his Excellency's guard; but he replied in a sullen tone, that he had already seen those of foreign troops; as if he did not expect that the English would have any thing particular to display in that respect. He was not, indeed, willing to allow them merit in any other. While the gentlemen of the Embassy were going through the several buildings in the gardens of Zhe-hol, they were glad of any opportunity of expressing, through civility to their conductors, their approbation of what they saw, wherever they found room for praise; and they were certainly not backward in concurring in the general admiration of the pieces of mechanism already mentioned, and which formed a part of that curious and magnificent collection, called Cox's Museum, which had been made, and was formerly shewn in London; but the General, inferring from their applause, that the sight was novel to them, exultingly demanded, whether such performances were to be found in England; and was not a little

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mortified to learn, that it was from thence they came to China.

In the course of conversation between Ho-choong-taung and the Ambassador, the former mentioned that he had received accounts of the arrival at Chu-san of the Lion and Hindostan. His Excellency took that opportunity of requesting, that Captain Mackintosh, having had the happiness of paying his obeisance to the Emperor, might now be allowed to join his ship; but the General, who kept close to the Colao, directly interfered, exclaiming, that it was not proper he should be allowed to traverse the Chinese empire. The Ambassador found it necessary to wave the subject for the present; but pressed the Colao to allow him soon the means of a short conversation in regard to it. The extreme hurry and multiplicity of business at this particular juncture, might have served Ho-choong-taung as an apology for declining a meeting for the present; but he was still more effectually prevented by illness. The fatigue of this day's exercise, brought on him some complaints to which he had long been subject. He sent, in consequence, to the Ambassador, a request to send to him his English physician, whom he wished to consult upon his case. Doctor Gillan accompanied the messenger to the Colao's house, where he found assembled some of the principal persons of the faculty then at court, and who were attending, with no little anxiety, upon their



illustrious patient. "He was attacked," as Doctor Gil-  
 lan mentioned, "with violent pains, which affected  
 "some of the larger joints of his arms and legs. He felt  
 "also excruciating pain about the lower part of the ab-  
 "domen; and a large swelling appeared, beginning at  
 "the ring of the external oblique muscle on the right  
 "side, and extending along the descending chord. He  
 "had often suffered under all these ailments, but seldom  
 "at the same time. The articular, and also lumbar and  
 "dorsal affections, generally recurred in spring and au-  
 "tumn; but the abdominal pain and swelling had been  
 "more frequent in their recurrence, and were shorter in  
 "their duration. The swelling appeared and disappeared  
 "sometimes on a sudden, but was greatest and most  
 "painful after making any particular exertion. These  
 "circumstances the Doctor learned from the Colao  
 "himself; who, however, was surprised at such a num-  
 "ber of questions, which the other physicians had not  
 "thought it necessary to make. They drew their indica-  
 "tions chiefly from the state of the pulse, in the know-  
 "ledge of which they boasted the highest skill. Ac-  
 "cording to their ideas, every part of the body has a  
 "pulse particular to itself, which indicates what part of  
 "the system suffers. They considered the pulse as a  
 "general interpreter of animal life, which pointed out  
 "every condition of the body; and that, by its means  
 "alone, the nature as well as seat and cause of disease,

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“ could be ascertained without the necessity of any  
“ other information relative to the patient. After a full  
“ examination of the Colao's pulses, they had early de-  
“ cided, that the whole of his complaints were owing to  
“ a malignant vapour or spirit which had infused itself  
“ into, or was generated in, his flesh, which shifted from  
“ place to place, always exciting pain in the part in  
“ which it fixed itself. In consequence of this opinion  
“ of the nature and cause of the disease, the method of  
“ cure was to expel the vapour or spirit immediately ;  
“ and this was to be effected by opening passages for its  
“ escape, directly through the parts affected. The ope-  
“ ration had been frequently performed, and many deep  
“ punctures made with gold and silver needles (which  
“ two metals only are admissible for the purpose), with  
“ exquisite pain to the patient. Still, however, the dis-  
“ ease continued its usual course; but this, from the au-  
“ thority and information of his pulses, was entirely  
“ owing to the obstinacy of the vapour, which either  
“ remained in part in the body, in spite of every effort  
“ to dislodge it, or was generated in fresh quantities in  
“ other parts, after having been expelled from the seat it  
“ had at first occupied. In their treatment of this disor-  
“ der, the physicians had exhausted all their skill to no  
“ purpose. The original complaints still continued to  
“ recur; and were now more violent than at any former  
“ period. The faculty had proposed the same method of



“ treatment for the pain and swelling of the lower part  
“ of the abdomen, which they considered in the same  
“ light as the affections of the joints, and as a part of the  
“ same disease. But this, the Colao, apprehensive of  
“ injury to some essential part, could not be persuaded  
“ to submit to; and very fortunate it was for him that he  
“ continued obstinate on that head.

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“ It was under these circumstances, that the Colao  
“ was desirous to have the sentiments of an English  
“ physician on his case. After the first ceremonies upon  
“ the arrival of Doctor Gillan were ended, and the tea,  
“ fruit, and sweetmeats were taken away, the patient  
“ presented to him, first his right arm, and afterwards  
“ his left, each resting upon a pillow, that their pulses  
“ might the more accurately be examined. The Doctor,  
“ in compliance with the custom and prejudices of the  
“ country, and that he might not shock the patient or  
“ the physicians by less attention than they thought re-  
“ quisite to that preliminary circumstance, felt the pulses  
“ of both arms with much gravity, and for a long con-  
“ tinuance. He told them at the same time, that the Eu-  
“ ropean physicians seldom thought it necessary to feel  
“ the pulse in several different parts of the body, because  
“ they knew that all the pulses corresponded together,  
“ and communicated with the heart, and with each other,  
“ by means of the circulation of the blood; so that by

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“ knowing the state of one artery or pulse, the state of all  
“ the rest was likewise ascertained. The Colao heard  
“ this doctrine with astonishment; and the physicians  
“ were equally amazed at what was so novel to them.  
“ They were much disconcerted, as well as embarrassed,  
“ in their observations on what they heard. At the  
“ Doctor's request, and to satisfy himself on this sub-  
“ ject, the Colao applied the fore-finger of his right  
“ hand to the left temporal artery, and the same finger  
“ of his left hand to the right ankle, and found, to his  
“ great surprise, that the beats of his pulse were every  
“ where simultaneous. He expressed his satisfaction at  
“ the proof which so simple and easy an experiment  
“ had afforded, of what had been asserted. The Doctor  
“ told him, that beside the pulse, it was necessary to  
“ gain information as to the internal sensations, and ex-  
“ ternal circumstances of a patient, in order to form a  
“ well founded judgment of his disease. This consi-  
“ deration induced the Colao to answer all the Doctor's  
“ questions; and upon a full investigation, he appeared  
“ to labour under two distinct complaints. One was  
“ rheumatism, which first attacked him in the mountains  
“ of Tartary, where he had been long exposed to cold  
“ and rainy weather; and recurred at different periods  
“ afterwards. The second was discovered, on examina-  
“ tion of the parts, to be a completely formed hernia.



“ Had he been punctured as his physicians had proposed,  
“ the worst consequences would, in all probability, have  
“ soon followed.

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“ The Colao desired the Doctor's explanation of the  
“ nature of his ailments, together with the methods of  
“ relief and cure which he proposed, to be put down in  
“ writing. He made him a present of a piece of silk;  
“ and was pleased to say, that his ideas appeared clear  
“ and rational; tho they were so new and distant from  
“ the notions prevalent in Asia, that they seemed as if  
“ they came from the inhabitant of another planet.”

Tho the Colao was quickly relieved from the most pressing of his complaints, no interview could be had with him for some time by the Ambassador. The latter determined therefore to write to him, to renew his solicitations for the speedy departure of Captain Mackintosh to join his ship at Chu-san; and also to request, that the private adventures, brought out by the ship's officers, should be permitted to be disposed of there, and a cargo purchased out of the produce of the adjoining provinces. No friendly missionary happened to be at Zhe-hol, who might procure a proper translation of this letter, as at Peking; but the interpreter found a person capable of turning, into proper Chinese expressions, the meaning of the letter, as verbally explained to him; and the translation was copied, as usual, and attested by the page. It was not to be expected that any further difficulty

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would remain with regard to it ; yet some occurred in its transmission. The Legate, who had still the principal care of the Embassy, might have taken it, if offered, and would probably promise to forward or deliver it, as he had the papers hitherto confided to him ; but would certainly have spared the Colao the trouble of reading it. His disposition towards the English was not softened by a disgrace which lately had befallen him, and of which, according to the report spread among the Embassy, it was innocently the cause. The Emperor happening to hear that the Ambassador had his Imperial Majesty's portrait in the great cabin of the Lion, and flattered by the compliment, desired the Legate to give an account of it, that he might judge if it bore any resemblance to his person ; but finding by his evasive answers that he had not seen it, not having been on board, as he had been ordered, he was instantly degraded for his disobedience. Such a power being possessed, and frequently exercised by the crown in China, with regard to all degrees of dignity. The Legate was reduced to wear an opaque white, instead of a transparent blue, button ; and a crow's, instead of a peacock's tail feather pendent from his cap. Protected still, however, by Ho-choong-taung, he retained his authority and offices. None of the Chinese servants could be found with courage sufficient to carry a letter without his leave. No European could make his way alone to the



Colao's house, or penetrate into his presence. But the Chinese interpreter, tho' dressed in an English uniform, undertook the errand. He was indeed obstructed, and even insulted, by the rabble on the road; but arrived at the Colao's house, and put the letter into a proper channel for its delivery without delay.

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In the mean time the celebration of the Emperor's anniversary, the seventeenth of September, had taken place. To this ceremony, as to the former, the Ambassador and his suite were called before the rising of the sun. The festival may be considered as having lasted several days. The first was consecrated to the purpose of rendering a solemn, sacred, and devout homage to the supreme majesty of the Emperor. The ceremony was no longer performed in a tent; nor did it partake of the nature of a banquet. The princes, tributaries, ambassadors, great officers of state, and principal mandarines, were assembled in a vast hall; and upon particular notice, were introduced into an inner building, bearing, at least, the semblance of a temple. It was chiefly furnished with great instruments of music, among which were sets of cylindrical bells, suspended in a line from ornamented frames of wood, and gradually diminishing in size from one extremity to the other, and also triangular pieces of metal arranged in the same order as the bells. To the sound of these instruments, a slow and solemn hymn was sung by eunuchs, who had such a command over

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their voices, as to resemble the effect of the musical glasses at a distance. The performers were directed in gliding from one tone to another, by the striking of a shrill and sonorous cymbal; and the judges of music among the gentlemen of the Embassy were much pleased with their execution. The whole had indeed a grand effect. During the performance, and at particular signals, nine times repeated, all the persons present prostrated themselves nine times, except the Ambassador and his suite, who made a profound obeisance. But he whom it was meant to honour, continued, as if it were in imitation of the Deity, invisible the whole time.

The awful impression intended to be made upon the minds of men, by this apparent worship of a fellow mortal, was not to be effaced by any immediate scenes of sport or gaiety, which were postponed to the following day. It was not deemed, however, inconsistent to visit in the mean time some of the temples in the neighbourhood, which had been erected by the Emperor. Sun-tazhin, one of the courtiers who had been of the party through the garden, politely offered to accompany the Ambassador. This Tartar chief was lately promoted to the rank of Colao, or to that first class of mandarines, of whom there are not above half a dozen in the empire. He had, some time since, been employed in the frontiers of Russia, to accommodate disputes that had arisen with that nation. He said, that he had negotiated at Hiachta



with a Russian general, who wore a red riband and star like those of the Ambassador; and with this general he soon terminated all differences. Hearing that his Excellency had formerly been upon a mission to that country from his Majesty, he was very particular in his inquiries concerning the riches, power, and political projects of that court. In his turn, he answered several questions of curiosity in regard to China. The conversation became interesting, and, in some degree, confidential. He was intelligent and attentive; and the sort of intimacy which commenced at this time between him and the Ambassador, became afterwards of much use.

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In the course of their ride together on the present occasion, they visited several temples: some stood on gentle elevations, some on the plain, and others on the summit of high hills, approachable only by rocky stairs of difficult ascent. Of those temples, one contained not fewer than five hundred gilt statues, somewhat bigger than the life, of deceased lamas of renowned sanctity; some were represented in the attitudes of constraint and inconvenience, in which, from an impulse of extraordinary devotion, and a secret desire of being admired for it, they preserved the vow they had made to continue whilst they lived. But the most considerable foundation was the Poo-ta-la, or grand temple of Fo, consisting of one great, and several smaller, edifices. The principal was a grand cathedral of a square form, each side of

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which is about two hundred feet. It differs from every other Chinese building; the outside very much resembling the front of an European edifice. It was of great height, containing eleven rows of windows, implying as many stories, or ranges of apartments, one above another. The front was handsome and well finished, but plain and uniform. The plate, No. 26, of the folio volume, contains a plan, section, and elevation of Poo-ta-la; and plate 27, is a view of it, and of the town of Zhe-hol, taken from a hill in the Emperor's park. The square, or principal building of Poo-ta-la, includes a quadrangle, in the centre of which is the golden chapel, so termed from the materials in which it, apparently at least, abounds. A spacious corridor below, and open galleries above, connected the apartments of the quadrangle. In the middle of the chapel there was a space railed off, and elevated above the floor, presenting three altars richly adorned, and three colossal statues of Fo, his wife, and child. Behind these altars, in a dark recess, was the sacred tabernacle, dimly lighted by a solitary lamp, as if meant to inspire religious horror. As the strangers approached, the curtain, part of which had been drawn aside, was closed, to shut out the shrine from the curiosity of the profane. They immediately ascended to the top of the chapel, to see the roof and broad projection covered with plates; which, as well as the statues on the altars below, were said to be of solid gold. No expence



seemed, indeed, to have been spared in the construction and decoration of this temple by the Emperor, who, in other respects, was not considered as profuse. There were not fewer than eight hundred lamas attached to Poo-ta-la. The visitors found many of them sitting cross-legged in rows upon the chapel floor, singing in a low key from papers, on which were a few columns of neat writing in the Tartar language. Some were consecrated to the temple from their childhood. All were employed in the performance of the exterior ceremonies of religion, and contributed, no doubt, to its magnificence; but few of them were described as having, either by the strictness of their conduct, or the superiority of their education, acquired that influence over the multitude, which might be made subservient to the maintenance of the peace and good order of society; thus fulfilling the civil or temporal purposes of religious institutions. It were indeed not difficult to account for the costly devotion of the Emperor towards Fo, on the supposition, which was credited by some about him, that, from a contemplation of the great length and unparalleled prosperity of his reign, he had gradually brought himself to imagine, that his favourite deity had vouchsafed to become incarnate in his person. Enthusiasm, it is true, is often known to accompany the most shining talents. Whatever may be the ground for attributing to this great prince so whimsical a fancy, he has certainly displayed much vigour and

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capacity of mind, as well as personal activity, and unre-mitted attention in the administration of his government ; by which means he has not only kept together the several parts of a vast empire, but has reduced, besides, to his subjection, a country extending forty degrees in longitude to the west, and nearly equal in size, tho not in value or population, to what he had inherited.

It is with him no less a measure of policy, than it is of gratification, to assemble his great vassals, the governors of his provinces, and commanders of his armies, occasionally at his court, to receive the renewal of their allegiance, and to display before them all the pomp of greatness, to which their own presence, as well as that of embassies from foreign princes, considerably contributes ; to distribute new dignities and rewards among the former ; and to leave upon their minds, in their return into their respective departments, an impression of his power repressive of their ambition, and of his munificence capable of securing their attachment. The parade of troops on the first day's celebration of the anniversary, amounted, according to the computation of Captain Parish, nearly to eighty thousand men. The number of mandarines was about twelve thousand.

For a few days afterwards, a variety of entertainments was exhibited in presence of the Emperor, surrounded by his court. The spectators themselves formed an imposing spectacle ; but it wanted that peculiar brilliancy,



that animating gaiety, which accompany the assemblages of both sexes. To eyes accustomed to such meetings, those of men alone, have always the appearance more of business than of pleasure. Nor were there at Zhe-hol any sports or tournaments, in which the courtiers and visitors bore themselves a part. No races or exercises on horseback, as among Tartars might have been expected. The shews were entirely Chinese. Individuals who excelled in any particular talent, men who, by natural agility or strength, and by dint of application, became capable of performing extraordinary feats, were collected together on the present occasion. The persevering diligence of some of the Chinese, had rendered them masters in the art of balancing their bodies upon a wire, while walking upon it; or a ladder, while passing through its rungs; or several light materials tottering in the air; or of operating with their hands so slightly, and distracting the attention of others so completely, as to deceive the sense of sight. All these exhibited in their turns; and served to gratify even those who had seen similar performances before, on the reflection of the difficulties surmounted in such exertions. On this principle, the exercises which followed, of tumbling and posture-making, had also their admirers. No games were played in which the interest arose from the contention of the parties, except that of wrestling, the most ancient per-

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haps of all; and in which each of the combatants appeared to aim, notwithstanding the embarrassment of long robes and clumsy boots, at raising his antagonist into the air, and afterwards laying him flat upon the ground. This aim was sometimes accomplished by muscular efforts dexterously applied.

Inhabitants of the different districts of the Emperor's wide domains appeared in separate groups, and in the costume of their respective countries. Whatever was particular in their usual exercises or habits, was here displayed. Several of them danced in a pleasing manner, and with graceful attitudes. There was some singing, and a vast variety of musical instruments. The musicians affected mostly slow and plaintive airs, not unlike those of the Highlanders of Scotland; which they played in exact and measured time. To Mr. Hüttner, a good judge of music, it appeared, that “ their gammut was “ such as Europeans would call imperfect, their keys “ being inconsistent; that is, wandering from flats to “ sharps, and inversely; except when directed by a bell “ struck to sound the proper notes. Mr. Hüttner farther “ observed, that the Chinese, in playing on instruments, “ discovered no knowledge of semi-tones, nor did they “ seem to have any idea of counterpoint, or parts in “ music. There was always one melody, however great “ the number of performers; tho, in a few instances, “ some of the instruments played in the lower octave,



“ while the rest continued in the upper ; and thus approached to harmony.” To the musicians, succeeded several hundred persons dressed in an uniform of olive-coloured tunics, who sung and danced in fancied ballets, representing, by the help of lights in transparent lanterns of different hues, such Chinese characters as conveyed great praise of his Imperial Majesty. In the night, these ballets would have appeared more brilliant, from contrast; but no amusement could be protracted to that time, as the Emperor, who rises for the most part before the sun, to the dispatch of the affairs of state, and to his devotions, generally retires before it sets.

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After the ballets, fire-works were played off; and even in the day-time, had a striking effect. Some of the contrivances were new to the English spectators. Out of a large box, among other instances, lifted up to a considerable height, and the bottom falling out as if it were by accident, came down a multitude of paper lanterns, folded flat as they issued from the box, but unfolding themselves from one another by degrees. As each lantern assumed a regular form, a light was suddenly perceived of a beautifully coloured flame, burning brightly within it; leaving doubtful, by what delusion of the sight those lanterns appeared, or by what property of combustible materials they became thus lighted, without any communication from the outside to produce the flame within. This devolution and development were

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several times repeated, with a difference of figure every time, as well as of the colours, with which the Chinese seem to have the art of clothing fire at pleasure. On each side of the large box was a correspondence of smaller boxes, which opened in like manner, and let down a kind of net-work of fire, with divisions of various forms, which shone like burnished copper, and flashed like lightning with every impulse of the wind. The whole ended with a volcano, or eruption of artificial fire, in the grandest style.

All those entertainments were exhibited to advantage on the lawn before the Emperor's great tent, and in the open air. They were preferred, on this occasion, to the more refined pleasures of dramatic performances, however relished by the Chinese; but which many of the Tartars, and other foreigners as well as the English, among the audience, could not understand. A select party, including the Ambassador and principal gentlemen of his suite, was invited to the exhibition of a pantomime, in the playhouse belonging to the ladies of the palace, which was situated in the boundary between their private pleasure grounds, and the Emperor's great garden. It was a small but handsome building, several stories high. There were three open theatres, or stages, one above another. Opposite the lowest stage were deep boxes for the guests, and over them were retired and latticed galleries for the ladies, who, without



being seen, could discern what was passing upon either stage. They had not probably any view into the boxes; for the Emperor, being disposed to indulge their desire of seeing some person of the Embassy, one of the eunuchs conducted the youth already mentioned, out of the Ambassador's box, upon a platform within the ladies' view.

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Instead of human figures upon the stage, the actors assumed the forms of other animated beings, as well as of inanimated productions, of the land and sea. They filled the three several stages, forming a kind of epitome of the world, and performing parts, which, by some, were conjectured to represent the marriage of ocean and the earth. This pantomime consisted of several acts; and the motions and evolutions of the actors lasted a great part of the afternoon.

Between the acts, many of the spectators went into the Ambassador's box, to see and converse with him. Most of them were Tartars; few original Chinese being invited to Zhe-hol. There were likewise two Mussulmen, chiefs of some hordes of Calmoucks, who, not long since, on occasion of discontent or misunderstanding with the government of Russia, migrated in great numbers from the northern coast of the Caspian sea into Chinese Tartary, and put themselves under the Emperor's protection. He gave them a very favourable reception, and decorated these two leaders with buttons of dignity, and peacocks' feathers to their caps.

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His Imperial Majesty, who seemed, not only in every important measure that he pursued, but even in every step of his ordinary conduct, to be attentive to the impression it was likely to produce on the minds of foreigners, as well as of his own subjects, took an opportunity of calling the Ambassador to him, to say, that “ it “ was only on particular occasions, like the present, that “ he assisted at such spectacles ; the care of watching over “ the safety of his people, and enacting laws for their “ welfare, necessarily demanding every moment of his “ time.”

His Imperial Majesty had, however, in fact, put such order in the investigation of public affairs, and had made such an excellent distribution of his time, that he found leisure to cultivate some of the polite arts, without neglecting the concerns of his crown ; he wrote even poems, which indicate taste and fancy, with an attentive view of nature. They are less remarkable for invention, than for philosophical and moral truths ; and resemble more the epics of Voltaire, than those of Milton. He presented a few stanzas to the Ambassador for his Majesty, together with some curious and precious gems, which he particularly valued, from having been eight centuries in his family ; and gave them as an earnest of perpetual friendship. He was also fond of painting and drawing, and kept the few missionaries employed, who were capable of cultivating those arts. He was even nice in the



formation of the Chinese characters, for which, as for drawings, the pencil is always used. He approved of the Chinese papers, thus copied, by the Ambassador's page; and judging that he could employ his pencil also to other purposes, he sent to him for such of his drawings as he had made from objects in China; of the correctness of which, the Emperor could be a judge. The youth, who was an indifferent draughtsman, was much embarrassed by this request; but sought for easy subjects, such as the leaf and flower of the favourite nenuphar of the country, and the purse which the Emperor had vouchsafed to give him. The idea pleased his Imperial Majesty, who signified his satisfaction by other presents to him.

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After the festivities were over, the Tartar princes began soon to prepare for their return home. They were the chiefs of numerous clans dependent on them, and could bring large bodies of troops into the field. They were often called upon in time of war, and had their respective stations, rank, and duty, assigned to them under the grand banners of Tartary. Their lands, or fiefs, were properly hereditary by primogeniture; but it was of late become necessary for the heir, on the death of his ancestor, to receive a sort of investiture from the Emperor, who seldom, and in very special cases, refuses it. These Tartar princes usually marry the daughters and nieces of the Imperial family, and hold a

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superior rank at court in consequence of this alliance. Their education is usually directed to military pursuits, and their weapons; the bow and scimitar; but many of them are acquainted with the history and geography of their own country. They hold the Emperor in the greater veneration, as considering him descended from Kublai-Khan, the conqueror of China in the thirteenth century. His descendants being in the fourteenth century expelled from the throne of that empire, fled into the country of the Man-choos in Eastern Tartary; and from their intermarriages with the natives, sprung the Bog-doi Khans, who, in the last age, entered China, and formed the present dynasty: a dynasty hitherto most fortunate. Its four first reigns, the last not yet terminated in 1793, have continued one hundred and forty-nine years; the longest perhaps of any four, in an uninterrupted succession, that are remembered; except, indeed, those of the last four reigning princes of the ancient monarchy of France, which continued one hundred and eighty-three years; tho the last sovereign, and best likewise of his race, was cut off by an untimely death. But the four Chinese reigns, tho over a people whose subjection was completed only in the course of them, and who are not yet perfectly reconciled, were not only long, but almost beyond example, prosperous. The first indeed, tho began in a minority, had all the vigour and exertion of a new dynasty; and those which succeeded, were equally re-



markable for wisdom, firmness, and activity. The last is brilliant likewise by its victories. That year, which in the British annals is justly termed the glorious 1759, was glorious also to Chen-Lung. He completed in that year, the conquest of the Eleuths, who possessed a great portion of what formerly was called Independent Tartary. The chart, No. 1. of the folio volume, marks the present extent of the dominions of the Emperor, according to the limits acknowledged by the Russian maps. Each of those empires contains a surface of about four millions of square miles, or nearly one-eleventh part of the terrene globe, and equal to two-third parts of Europe. These two great empires join at some of their extremities; and, together, form not much less than one-fifth portion of the earth; but in the calculation of the Russian territories, are included that vast and inhospitable tract, bounding on the frozen Sea, and bearing a great proportion to the remaining habitable part of that empire. Whereas, all the Chinese dominions are in situations fit and desirable for men. Most of them lie in the happiest part of the temperate zone, under fifty degrees of north latitude. A small part only extends to the southward within the tropics: the whole empire capable of, and much of it actually abounding in, the most useful productions, as well as rich in the arts of civilized life.

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The Emperor divides his time according to the seasons; the winter in his Chinese, the summer in his

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Tartar, territories. Moukden is the capital of the ancient possessions of his family, which he has greatly embellished and enlarged, and where he is supposed to have accumulated vast treasures; as if he still distrusted the hold he has of China, where indeed, he is considered as a stranger. Throughout Asia, men are not so much distinguished by the places of their nativity, as by the races from which they sprung. Tho the Emperor Chen-Lung, be the fourth in descent from him who successfully invaded China in the last age, and tho the last three succeeding generations were all born at Pekin, yet they are universally regarded by their subjects, and they regarded indeed themselves, as Tartars. Their principal ministers, their confidential servants, the chiefs of their armies, most of their wives, concubines, domestics, and eunuchs, are of that race. Every male in China, of Tartar parents or descent, is allowed a stipend from his birth, and is registered among the servants of the prince. These form his body guards, to whom his personal safety is confided. Such a preference of Tartars, apparently partial and impolitic, was deemed absolutely necessary in the commencement of the dynasty, when the conquest of the country was not complete; and little reliance was to be placed on the fidelity of those who had been vanquished. It became, however, the source of additional disaffection, which, in its turn, called for the continuance of the measure which produced it. No change in the circum-



stances of the Tartar and Chinese nations since they became subject to one sovereign, has contributed to their union, or to overcome the opposition approaching to antipathy, which must have previously subsisted between a warlike people ever endeavouring to invade, and a civilized people always struggling to exclude, their neighbours. It is still a common saying in the provinces of China where those invaders most abound, that no half a dozen natives are assembled together for an hour, before they begin to clamour against the Tartars. The sovereigns of the present dynasty have, hitherto, ostensibly conformed to, rather than exclusively adopted, the Chinese manners, laws, and language. It is, perhaps, scarcely to be expected that it will continue long enough upon the throne to melt entirely into Chinese. The present dynasty has already lasted almost as long as the average of those which preceded it; as each indeed, owed its origin to talents and activity, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, so it seldom survived the weak struggle of indolence and incapacity, against calamity or disturbance. The principle of hereditary right, so long the support of other thrones, does not appear to have been ingrafted into the minds of the Chinese, who seem to look to power only, which is a less stable tenure, as the foundation of authority; but hitherto the Tartar princes of the present dynasty, have continued to maintain theirs with a steady and strict hand,

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and the desire of perpetuating the stability and uniformity of their government, has directed them to the choice of their successors, with a view to effectuate this purpose with the greater certainty. The present Emperor determined some time since upon a measure, which might not be attended with a similar consequence in other countries ; that of resigning his crown at a period, which, though at that time distant, his vigorous constitution rendered it probable he should survive ; thus enabling him to place beyond risk, the accession of him whom he might appoint to be his heir ; and whom, whether his son by nature or adoption, the sentiments of filial piety, which in China, are not to be shaken even by a throne, as well as those of gratitude and affection, would engage to follow the example and advice of his predecessor. And it is likely, that Chen-Lung will have had the gratification of enjoying in another, the dignity and power he has communicated to him, without being himself deprived of either.

Of the several sons of the Emperor, only four are now alive, the eighth, the eleventh, the fifteenth, and seventeenth. The eleventh being Governor of Peking, continued there during his father's absence. The others were at Zhe-hol ; of these, the two youngest were understood to be the most promising. They were likewise courteous in their manners, fond of acquiring information about other countries, and curious in exa-



mining the inventions and improvement imported from thence.

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The Emperor's great age no longer permitting him to follow the great chase of wild beasts in the forests of Tartary, as he had been accustomed to do after the celebration of his birthday, he determined on his speedy return to Peking, and it was settled that the Ambassador should precede him thither.

Before his Excellency's departure from Zhe-hol, he received an answer, through the Legate, from Ho-choong-taung to the letter, he had sent some time before, announcing to him, that the Hindostan should be permitted to sell goods and purchase produce at Chu-san, under the auspices of the principal mandarines, who should guard against any frauds that might be attempted by the natives; and moreover, that as she had come out laden in great measure with presents for the Emperor, she should be subject to no duties on her return, which was a boon that had not been requested; but that it was inconvenient to suffer Captain Mackintosh to go at this time to join his ship, the business of which must continue to be done by the people to whom she was then entrusted.

This answer was more favourable than was expected from the channel through which it came, except as to the latter clause, which was owing probably to the remonstrances of the Thibet General, in consequence of

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that subject having been mentioned when he happened to be present. The virulence of his opposition to the English nation, did not seem abated; and nothing was, perhaps, more desirable for its interest in China, than that he should neither be continued in the councils of the Emperor, or be sent back to the vice-royalty of Canton, where he might oppress the factory there, or misrepresent their conduct and disposition in his dispatches to the government.

Captain Parish ascertained the latitude of Zhe-hol, to be 41 degrees 58 minutes north. During the short stay of the Embassy there, the weather was remarkably dry, and the sky serene and clear.

*Plants, collected in the Journey between Peking and Zhe-hol in Tartary.*

Sedum.	Polygonum fagopyrum, L.
Dianthus.	—— another species.
Tribulus terrestris, Linnæi.	Berberis.
Cassia procumbens, Osbeck	Convallaria multiflora, Lin.
and Thunberg, non Linnæi.	—— verticillata, Lin.
	Asparagus.
Sophora japonica.	Crassula spinosa, Linnæi.
Polygonum lapathifolium, Linnæi.	—— another species.
	Sambucus nigra, Linnæi.



Sambucus umbellata.	Scabiosa leucantha, Linnæi.
Bupleurum.	—— another species.
Swertia rotata, Linnæi.	Aristida.
Ulmus.	Arundo.
Chænopodium, three species.	Avena.
Asclepias Sibirica, Linnæi.	Briza eragrostis, Linnæi.
Vitis heterophylla, Thunberg.	Poa.
Euonymus.	Panicum crus corvi, Linnæi.
Rhamnus, four species.	——— glaucum, L.
Capsicum.	——— italicum, L.
Solanum nigrum, Linnæi.	——— viride, L.
Physalis alkekengi, Linnæi.	——— ciliare, Retz. obs.
Hyoscyamus niger, Linnæi.	—— another species.
Campanula, two species.	Saccharum.
Convolvulus, two species.	Cyperus iria, Linnæi.
Lysimachia.	—— another species.
Echium.	Moræa chinensis, Linnæi.
Cistus.	Ixia chinensis, Linnæi.
Sanguisorba officinalis, Linnæi.	Valeriana.
Rubia cordata, Thunberg.	Amethystea cærulea, Linnæi.
	Veronica, two species.
	Syringa vulgaris, Linnæi.
	Quercus.

Plants between Pekin and Zhe-hol.

Plants be-  
tween Pekin  
and Zhe-hol.

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Salix.

Pinus

Nicotiana.

Allium.

Morus.

Fraxinus.

Aster.

Pæonia.

Matricaria.



## CHAPTER IV.

RETURN TO PEKIN. OBSERVATIONS AND OCCURRENCES  
THERE, AND AT YUEN-MIN-YUEN.

A VAST assemblage of strangers could not continue long at Zhe-hol without inconvenience. The principal of those who attended there on the occasion of the anniversary of the Emperor's birth, departed from thence, in different directions, at the same time with the British Ambassador, on the twenty-first of September. Amongst those whose route lay, like his, to the southward, were the delegates from Pegu, and other kingdoms bordering upon some of the Chinese provinces. Very different motives from those which occasioned the present Embassy, induced the sovereigns of those states to send persons frequently to represent them at the court of Pekin. Their dominions were not only vastly inferior to China in extent and population; but from a weak and unsteady government, and the frequency of intestine divisions, were little able to cope with that great empire; nor could they rely, for their support, upon the assistance of other princes, actuated by the jealousy of maintaining the balance of Asiatic power. It was, therefore, become generally a maxim of political prudence with them, to acknowledge a sort of vassalage to China, by sending

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tribute, and paying homage, to the Emperor, in order to avoid a more direct interference; and the danger, if they resisted, of entire subjugation in a contest so unequal. Those delegates were placed under the conduct of some inferior mandarines, and a moderate yet decent stipend was allowed for their maintenance during their stay in the country. But the mandarines, trusting to the difficulties that a stranger always experiences, in conveying a complaint, and the hazard of attempting it, gave way to the contempt which they felt for those foreigners, and often treated them with indignity. Those mandarines also, receiving themselves very small salaries from government, felt little scruple in taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity to derive emolument from defrauding the persons under their care, of a considerable share of their allowance. Luckily in such circumstances, those men had been habituated to the hardships of a military life; and their minds were not so refined as to feel humiliation very poignantly; and their chief mortification, perhaps, arose from the superior treatment of the English Embassy.

The same parade, as formerly, continued to attend it. As it was no longer encumbered with the presents carried to Zhe-hol, and left there, the determination was taken of travelling faster than before, but still of stopping at some of the Emperor's palaces, where all things were made ready for the reception of the Embas-



sador and his retinue, the highways which were now repaired, facilitated their progress. One indeed was reserved for the use of the Emperor alone. This was rendered perfectly level, dry, and smooth. Cisterns were contrived on the sides of the Imperial road, to hold water for sprinkling it occasionally, in order to keep down the dust. Parallel to the Emperor's, was another road, not quite so broad, nor swept continually with so much care; but perfectly commodious and safe. This was intended for the attendants of his Imperial Majesty; and upon this, the British Embassy was allowed to pass. All other travellers were excluded from these two privileged roads, and obliged to endeavour to make out a path wherever they were able.

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Short as was the interval which elapsed since the Embassy had gone along this route to Zhe-hol, the change in the temperature already was considerable; and a greater degree of cold experienced, than in a similar latitude at the same season in Europe. It affected, indeed, the human frame with a keenness seldom felt in England.

When the gentlemen of the Embassy arrived at Koo-pe-koo, near which they had already visited and examined the great wall, insatiate curiosity excited some of them to inspect once more that ancient bulwark. Here they had a fresh instance of the extreme jealousy of the government, or of the persons commanding under it. The breach through which those travellers before had

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passed to mount the wall, was, during their absence, stopped up with stone and rubbish, so as to prevent their passage. The Tartar and Chinese attendants seemed, indeed, in all cases, to be embarrassed between the fear of offending guests they were ordered to respect, if they should attempt to put any actual constraint upon their actions, and the dread of being responsible for suffering strangers to have too near an insight of the country. The policy of these persons consisted chiefly in diverting the strangers from curious objects of pursuit, by indirect methods, and by throwing obstructions, apparently accidental, in their way; and the gentlemen of the Embassy, from prudence partly, and partly from consideration towards their attendants, desisted frequently from excursions and inquiries perfectly harmless in themselves.

In the beginning of this journey, one of the Ambassador's guards died of a surfeit, as was supposed, of fruit. His death happened in one of the Emperor's palaces; but such is the extraordinary delicacy of the people in every thing relating to their dread sovereign, that it was contrary to rule to have allowed any person to breathe his last within the Imperial precincts. The conductors, therefore, of the Ambassador, directed the corpse of this European to be carried from thence in a palanquin, as if still alive; and his death was announced at some distance upon the road.



Another person belonging to one of the Ambassador's suite, labouring under a dysentery, stopped at a Chinese inn, and was induced to consult a physician of the place, who, to the doctrine of the pulse, added a discourse upon the different temperaments of the human frame, and unluckily attributing his patient's suffering to the predominance of cold humours, prescribed for him strong doses of pepper, cardamoms, and ginger, taken in hot show-choo or distilled spirit: a medicine which so exasperated all the symptoms of his disorder, that he had much difficulty to escape alive to Peking.

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The return of the Ambassador and his suite to that capital, was a joyful event to such of the ancient companions of the voyage as he had left there behind him. They had lived, in that interval, a retired and secluded life. Many, indeed, of the missionaries, were nearly as desirous of their society, as exiles usually are to see their countrymen in a foreign land; and accordingly, in the beginning, some of the fathers called upon the English every day; but this very intimacy contributed, perhaps, to arouse the extreme jealousy of the Chinese against both. The long residence of the former did not exempt them from the general mistrust entertained of foreigners; and nothing could be more dangerous or extravagant, than the designs attributed to the latter, particularly in letters from Canton and Macao. It was quickly determined by the officers of government at Peking, that as little oppor-

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tunity as possible should be afforded for any communication between the old and new Europeans there. Under some futile pretence of preventing the servants attending upon the former from purloining any of the Ambassador's effects left in his hôtel during his absence, that missionary alone was permitted to continue going there, who had been appointed to inquire into the wants of the persons remaining behind his Excellency, and to transact any necessary business for them. Their foreign dress also attracted an intrusive mob about them whenever they ventured into the city. They had no mandarines of rank, to procure respect for them as they went along; nor had they the benefit of Chinese interpreters with them, to explain any thing they heard or saw. The boundaries of their hôtel were, however, so extensive as to admit of exercise within its bounds, and to prevent them from suffering under the feelings of personal constraint. Several of them also went frequently to Yuen-min-yuen, where the arrangement of the machines, and others of the principal presents, required their superintendence. Doctor Scot, who had been left to take care of several of the guard and servants that were ill, was particularly attentive to his patients. Another circumstance afforded him also some occupation. In China, as elsewhere, not only the wants of man are what excites his ingenuity to supply them, but his inventions seldom outstep the absolute occasion he feels for them. The interior covering,



as well as exterior dress of the Chinese, is generally of a dark colour, not requiring to be preserved or renewed by frequent washing; and consists sometimes of materials that do not admit of such an operation. White garments of any kind are worn only for mourning. These cannot be too much soiled for the etiquette, which excludes every appearance of personal care or ornament from those who are supposed to be overwhelmed with grief. The close dress of Europeans requires, for health, as well as cleanliness, to be often changed; but the loose manner in which the people of Asia wear their clothes, tho it requires frequently a greater quantity of them to guard against the inclemency of the weather, permits them to be worn a longer time without inconvenience. Their tables, which the varnish always laid upon them prevents from imbibing moisture, or being injured by dust, are not covered with cloths. They spread no sheets upon their beds. They have not adopted the use of linen; and white cotton is applied by most of them to a very few purposes only. The coarse cloth generally used by them will admit of being steeped in alkaline ley, for the purpose of being washed, or freed from the impurities which stuck to it while worn. The alkali employed for this purpose, is a white fossil substance found in plenty about Peking; nor do they in most cases require any other, except indeed for cleansing the skin, in regard to which the Chinese are not without

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abundance of cosmetics. For fine linen, however, this alkali of the Chinese is too acrid, and speedily destroys its texture. To correct this ill quality, Doctor Scot turned artist, and having procured a sufficient proportion of oil, soon made with it and the alkali, very good soap, for the consumption of his companions and himself.

It is likely that the general use of linen, to which Europe is supposed to be indebted for its present exemption from leprous affections, will be adopted by the Chinese, in the course of their increased commerce and connections with Europeans. Leprous disorders are those alone for which any hospitals are regularly erected in China, on the principle of their being too infectious, to admit of persons afflicted with them having any communication with the rest of society.

The article of soap will, probably, soon follow that of linen, as a necessary appendage. The ingredients for making it, and most other articles demanded for the use of the English Embassy, were furnished at the expence of the Chinese government. It was, however, necessary to be very particular in explaining the use and occasion of them to the mandarines. The request made to them, tho never, in words, refused, was not always complied with in fact. Sometimes also, an alarm was taken by them, as if some improper purposes were intended to be effected by what was called for. One of the painters of the Embassy once wished to have an easel or stand for the



framed canvas, on which he meant to draw the portrait of a missionary. The mandarines, not comprehending the nature of an easel, simple as it seemed, and probably apprehending that it might be some part of a mathematical apparatus, for the purpose of making military plans or measurements, or for taking sketches of the fortifications or ramparts of the capital, could not be persuaded to give directions for making such an instrument. Some individuals of the Embassy wished to procure what they wanted at their own expence; but they were narrowly watched, the prices of the articles returned to them; and corporal punishment inflicted on those who sold them. Hospitality to strangers, demanding that they should be freed from all charges, was indeed the ostensible ground for this severity; tho it appeared not to be altogether unconnected with a system of precautions dictated by jealousy.

To this political and prejudiced jealousy, was added, tho very innocently on the part of those who gave rise to it, a jealousy and alarm of another kind. In one of the courts of the Ambassador's hôtel, were rocks artificially heaped up in the Chinese taste, by way of decoration, and which served, tho not intended for such use, as steps to the top of the wall surrounding the whole inclosure. From thence could sometimes be perceived, the female inhabitants of the neighbouring houses. It was said, that in this manner a few persons belonging

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to the Embassy happened, in the vacancy of employment, during his Excellency's absence, but without being impelled by any motive of improper curiosity, to walk upon the walls of the hôtel. This accidental occurrence was considered as unbecoming, and gave offence to the neighbourhood; but the practice, upon representation, was immediately discontinued. At this period a confused account arrived at Peking, of the temporary contest about the ceremony of reception, which at Zhe-hol was so quickly settled. Some politicians inferred from thence, beside considering the Ambassador's visit at an end, that he would not be allowed to return to the capital; but like the delegates who left Tartary at the same time, would be obliged to continue his route without passing through it. The arrival of his Excellency put an end to these conjectures.

His entrance into Peking was attended with the usual honours, and he received the customary visits from the principal mandarines, several of whom were in waiting for him at his hôtel. Yet he was aware of the propriety of fixing a limit to his Embassy. The permanent residence of a minister in China, from a foreign court, was yet utterly unknown in that country. The maxim of considering foreign ambassadors as guests, whose charges it was becoming to defray at the public charge, while they continued in the country, led naturally to the rule of putting, quickly, a period to their stay. The extraordinary



degree of expence, which the splendid treatment given to the English, occasioned to the Emperor, was an additional argument against the prolongation of the visit, as it would have been an abuse of the hospitality with which they were received. It would have offended too much the pride and prejudices of the Chinese nation, to have pressed, abruptly, a proposal in this first diplomatic mission, for giving up its ancient notions in regard to public visitors, and for suffering them to bear their own expences, while yet within the dominions of China. His Excellency was determined, therefore, to desire leave to depart, after the great festival, in the beginning of the Chinese year, in February. During that interval, whatever he could reasonably hope to obtain, or ought to apply for, might be accomplished; and an amicable and frequent intercourse might gradually be established for the mutual convenience of both nations.

His Excellency understood, indeed, that some proposal for his departure, would be soon expected; and that at Yuen-min-yuen, the persons left there to adjust the nice machines, brought out as presents, were urged to finish their work, lest they should be left incomplete. Dr. Dinwiddie continued almost constantly there, to direct the workmen in putting together the various complicated parts of the Planetarium. Mr. Barrow went and resided occasionally at the same place, to superintend the arrangement of all the other presents. He had

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frequently the opportunity of observing there the ingenuity and dexterity of the Chinese workmen. Two of them took down the two magnificent glass lustres sent as presents to the Emperor, in order to place them in a more advantageous position. They separated them piece by piece, and put them again together in a short time without difficulty or mistake, the whole consisting of many thousand minute pieces, tho they had never seen any thing of the kind before. Another Chinese cut a narrow slip from the edge of a curved plate of glass in order to supply the place of one belonging to the dome of the Planetarium, which had been broken in the carriage. The English mechanics belonging to the Embassy had in vain attempted to cut the glass according to this curve line, with the assistance of a diamond. The native workman did not show his method; but it was said that he succeeded, by first drawing the point of a heated iron across the surface to be divided.

The invention of this artist, in the present instance, was the more singular, as there is no manufacture of glass in the empire except at Canton, where, instead of fusing the rough ingredients of flint, or sand and barilla, and converting them by the proper process into glass, the manufacturer is satisfied with only melting the broken pieces collected of that material, and forming it into new shapes, according to the uses to which it might be destined. The Chinese appear indeed to have strong claims



to the credit of having been indebted only to themselves for the invention of the tools, necessary in the primary and necessary arts of life. The learned and attentive traveller will have observed, in relation to common tools, such as, for example, the plane and anvil, that whether in India or in Europe, in ancient or modern times, they are found to have been fabricated in the same precise form, scarcely ever differing, except perhaps in the roughness of the materials, or of the make, and all denoting a common origin, being almost a servile imitation of each other. In China alone, those tools have something peculiar in their construction, some difference, often indeed slight, but always clearly indicating that, whether better or worse fitted for the same purposes, than those in use in other countries, the one did not serve as a model for the other. Thus, for example, the upper surface of the anvil, elsewhere flat and somewhat inclined, is among the Chinese swelled into a convex form.

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In the forges near Peking, on the road to Zhe-hol, where this particularity was observed, another also attracted the attention of the traveller. The bellows used by the common smiths of Europe are vertical. The blast is impelled, partly by the weight of the machine, rendered heavy for that purpose; but it is opened or raised by muscular exertion overcoming the gravity useful in the former instance; and, during that operation,

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the blast is discontinued. But the Chinese bellows are horizontal. The workman is not aided at any one time by the weight of the machine, but he is not burdened with it at another. It is an advantage that the labour should thus be equable and never excessive. The bellows are made in the form of a box, of which a moveable door is so closely fitted, as when drawn back to create a vacuum in the box, into which, in consequence, the air rushing with impetuosity, through an opening guarded by a valve, produces a blast through an opposite aperture. The same is continued when the door is pushed forward to the opposite extremity of the box, the space within it being diminished, and the air compressed, a part of it is forced out through the same aperture. When instead of a moveable door, a piston is placed within it, the air is compressed between the piston and both extremities of the box alternately, and forced out upon the same principle in both operations. This double or perpetual bellows, is worked with equal ease, and with double the effect of the common or single bellows. A model of the Chinese bellows, not easily intelligible by a plate, has been brought to England, and will be submitted to the curious.

The common plane of the Chinese carpenter is, like the anvil, distinguished by some minute particulars which characterise it to be original. It differs not only in the way of fixing the chisel in it, but in the man-



ner in which it is used. The ends of the frame itself serve, elsewhere, for handles by which the tool is held and applied to the wood of which the surface is to be made smooth ; but to the Chinese plane are fixed particular handles across the frame, by which the same purpose is effected perhaps with greater ease.

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The histories of the first remote ages of Chinese transactions, attribute the most useful inventions in society to the first or oldest monarchs of the country. It is much more probable that they were the gradual result of the efforts of several obscure individuals, who felt, in the course of their own labours, and endeavoured to supply, the want of such mechanical assistance ; and that subsequent historians, not able to trace the real inventors, substituted the names of the encouragers or promoters of those arts. There is, however, reason to believe that not only the inventions of first necessity, but those of decoration and refinement, were known among the Chinese in remote antiquity. The annals of the empire bear testimony to the fact, and it is confirmed by a consideration of the natural progress of those inventions, and of the state of Chinese artists at this time. In the first discovery and establishment of an art, it is practised awkwardly, even with the help of tools ; and this state is supposed to be long stationary, until at length it advances to its second period, when it becomes improved, and the artist is enabled to avail himself to the utmost of

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every tool and machine that can assist him. The last period of perfection is that in which the artist is become so dextrous, as to complete his work with few, or awkward tools, and with little or no assistance. And such is the character of the Chinese potter, weaver, worker in the precious metals, and in ivory, and of most others in the several trades commonly practised in the country, and such attainment is, no doubt, the utmost effort of the art, and the strongest test of a very ancient possession of it.

It is not surprising that the method of making gunpowder, and of printing, should be discovered to the Chinese long before they were known by Europeans. With regard to the first, in whatever country nature creates nitre (one of the chief ingredients for making gunpowder,) in the greatest plenty, there its deflagrating quality is most likely to be first observed; and a few experiments founded on that observation, will lead to the composition that produces such sudden and violent effects. Nitre is the natural and daily produce of China and India, and there, accordingly, the knowledge of gunpowder seems to be coeval with that of the most distant historic events. Among the Chinese, it has been applied at all times to useful purposes, such as blasting rocks, and removing great obstructions, and to those of amusement in making a vast variety of fire-works. It was also used as a defence, by undermining the probable passage of the enemy, and blowing him up. But its force



had not been directed through strong metallic tubes as it was by Europeans soon after they had discovered it. Yet this invention did not prove so decisive for those who availed themselves of it, as to mark distinctly in history, the precise period when its practice first took place. And tho, in imitation of Europe, it has been introduced into the armies of the East, other modes of warfare are sometimes still preferred to it.

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In relation to the second method, or that of printing, important as are its effects in Europe; it is obvious, that as its object is only to multiply copies of the same writing, it could be sought for only in that society which produces many readers. The number of such would no doubt be increased wherever it were introduced; but where that number is become very considerable, from other causes tending to increase the civilized and lettered classes of society, the various attempts to supply their taste, would naturally lead to so simple an invention as the Chinese art of printing. It consists in nothing more than in cutting, in relief, the forms of the written characters on some compact wood, daubing afterwards those characters with a black glutinous substance, and pressing upon them different sheets of paper (itself a previous and ingenious invention), each sheet taking thus an impression of the characters upon which it had been laid. The art of engraving, for the gratification of the rich and powerful, had been carried to such perfection

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among many nations of antiquity, that the invention of printing, as here described, and coming so near to mere engraving, was likely soon to follow whenever the number of readers should be so great as to insure reward to the inventor. The state of society in China, from the most early ages, rendered that number prodigious. Unlike to the rest of the world, where valour and military talents, occasionally united with natural eloquence, were originally the foundation of all wealth and greatness, while literature was little more than an amusement; the study of the written morals, history, and policy, of China, was the only road, not merely to power and honour, but to every individual employment in the state. The necessity, therefore, for such a multiplicity of copies for all persons in the middling as well as upper classes of life in the most populous of all empires, was the early and natural parent of the printing art, as it is still practised among them.

The paper used by the Chinese for their publications, is too thin and weak to receive distinct impressions on both sides. The engraved board on which the paper is laid to take the impression on one side, generally contains the characters for two pages. The paper when printed off, is doubled together, the blank sides touching each other. The fold forms the outer edge, which thus is double, while all the single edges, contrary to the mode of European bookbinders, are stitched together and bound into



a volume. After the edition is worked off, the plates or boards are collected together, and it is generally mentioned in the preface where they are deposited, in case a second edition should be called for.

It has sometimes been thought in Europe, that moveable types were a preferable invention to that of the Chinese; but they seldom can be applicable to the impression of writings in a language consisting, like theirs, of a vast variety of characters, if each character be considered as a letter in an alphabet. The compositor in a printing-office easily distributes the four-and-twenty letters of an alphabetic language. He at once perceives where each is to be found. He distinguishes them at a glance. His hands even acquire the habit of reaching rapidly, without looking, for them, as the fingers learn to touch the keys of a harpsichord without turning the eyes towards them. Were there many thousands of such keys, it is obvious that no such habit could be acquired, nor could the keys be within reach. The practice were equally impossible, in printing with eighty thousand moveable types, for that number of different characters of which the Chinese tongue consists. It has not, indeed, occurred to the artists of China to form moveable and separate types, for each of the minute strokes, or elements, of which such characters are composed, as has been attempted some years since in Germany. It is possible that such a practice might be found to

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answer, notwithstanding the difficulty which must arise from the minuteness of the type necessary for each particular stroke ; a difficulty which, when all the types are not necessarily of so small a size, has been overcome by a very ingenious and learned gentleman, in printing the Persian language in Bengal ; and the further difficulty, of uniting, in the impression, the several strokes, marked by separate types, of a Chinese character, which does not exist in printed European languages, where the letters of the same word seldom touch each other.

The Chinese are satisfied, whenever the same characters very frequently occur, as in the public kalendars and gazettes, to use types for such, cut apart, and occasionally inserted within the frames where they are wanted.

Gazettes are frequently published in Peking, under the authority of government. The various appointments throughout the empire, the favours granted by the Emperor, all his public acts, his remission of taxes to districts suffering by dearth or other general calamity, his recompense of extraordinary services, the embassies sent, and the tribute paid, to him, form a considerable part of the public news. The domestic details of his household, or of his private life, are seldom, if ever, mentioned. Singular events, instances of longevity, sometimes the punishments of offences committed by mandarines, are there recorded. Even some instances of the adultery of women, which is a punishable, tho not



a capital, offence, are occasionally published, perhaps, by way of deterring others from the commission of the like enormities. While China was at war, its victories, as well as the suppression of rebellions, were announced. In all other cases the world, in point of intelligence, is confined to China.

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Beside the classic works of the Chinese, of which the multiplication by printing is prodigious, the lighter literature of the country gives no inconsiderable occupation to the press. The *Orphan of China*, however improved in an English dress, by a very respectable dramatic poet, may be considered as no unfavourable specimen of Chinese tragedy; and the *Pleasing History* of which an English translation, under the care of a learned and ingenious prelate, was published several years ago, is an instance of Chinese novel writing, that is interesting and simple; and for serious readers, the zeal of Christianity had induced the missionaries to procure the publication of several works in the Chinese tongue, in proof of the tenets which they preached.

Notwithstanding the vigilant police of the Chinese magistrates, books disapproved by them are privately printed and disseminated in China. It is not easy to prevent, or even always to detect, the operations of a trade which, beside paper and ink, require little more than some pieces of board, and a knife to cut out characters upon them. The books thus published furtively,

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are chiefly those which are offensive to decency, and inflame the imagination of young minds. It is not said that any are levelled against the government. The mandarines asserted, however, that a sect had for ages subsisted in the country, whose chief principles were founded upon an antipathy to monarchy; and who nourished hopes of, at last, subverting it. Their meetings were held in the utmost secrecy, and no man avowed any knowledge of them; but a sort of inquisition was said to be established in order to find them out. They who were suspected of such sentiments, were cut off, or hunted out of society; somewhat like those who were accused formerly of Judaism in some Roman Catholic kingdoms.

The political, moral, and historical works of the Chinese contain no abstract ideas of liberty, which might lead them to the assertion of independence. It is said, that in the French zeal for propagating principles of democracy, their declaration of the Rights of Man had been translated into one of the languages of India, and distributed there. It is not, indeed, likely to cause any fermentation in the tranquil, submissive, and resigned minds, with the weak and delicate constitutions, of the Hindoos; but it might be otherwise among the Chinese people, who are more susceptible of such impressions, their disposition being more consonant to enterprize. They are a more hardy race. Their more northern cli-



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mate tends to render them able as well as resolute. They are more husbandmen than manufacturers, and as such, are apt to feel a more undaunted spirit. The minds of many of them, also, are not altogether satisfied with their condition, which lays them perpetually, both as to their fortunes and their persons, at the mercy of the mandarines. Corporal punishment, to which every man amongst them is subject at the instant nod of any magistrate, and sometimes even the apprehension of it, is capable, when it does not utterly debase the mind, of exciting impatient and indelible resentment. A manifestation of innocence will not always avail to support an individual in an appeal to superior power. The maxim of maintaining proper subordination, will generally intervene to impede redress. Enormous and multiplied oppressions, at length producing tumult, in the despair of suffering, do force, indeed, attention: the magistrate is then removed, and often very severely punished. But if, in committing excesses against the subject, he escapes mostly with impunity, he is treated with inexorable rigour on the slightest failure towards government. He lies under the hardship, also, of being frequently responsible for events which he seldom can control. Upon the general principle that it is his duty to watch over the morals of the people, he is in many cases considered as a criminal for not preventing crimes which he had not been able to prevent. The mandarines are thus

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aware, of not being guaranteed by good conduct against disgrace, and feel the chagrin of insecurity. That government is certainly the most firm, in which a large proportion of the subjects, as in Great Britain, are conscious of having an interest in its preservation. Such does not seem the general sentiment in China. Without any reasoning upon the right of changing their rulers, many Chinese are disposed to see in such an alteration a prospect of a meliorated condition. These feel inclined to take a part in the revolts which frequently happen in one or other of the provinces. The junction of numbers is prevented chiefly by the fear of failure. When personal attachment to the sovereign, to obtain which great pains have been taken in the present dynasty, ceases in consequence of any general evil pressing upon the people, which he is either supposed to have occasioned, or not to have endeavoured to remedy, no sentiment of his having a claim of right to the throne he fills, which is elsewhere such a security to monarchs, arrests the disposition of endeavouring to make him yield it to another. The general maxim of obedience to the prince, inculcated by the moralists of China, might not hold firm in every breast against the novel doctrine of the sacred right and duty of insurrection against oppression ; tho it seems already to have been exploded as dangerous in practice, from the country where it first was propagated. The cautious government of China aware,



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indeed, of the avidity with which notions of equality might be adopted, particularly by young minds, in the lower conditions of life, most likely to be inflamed by such a flattering and new light, begun early to take precautions against their introduction. Hitherto, the great basis of the safety and tranquillity of the empire, has been the patriarchal system which, as was noticed in a former chapter, has continued to be followed to this time, in China, of all the individuals of succeeding generations, living under the oldest surviving heads of families. The prudence and experience of the latter in directing the concerns of their offspring, tend to avert from them the evil consequences of events which might provoke discontent and disaffection ; and their mistrust of innovation, induces them to set the example of resignation to the lot of life in which they happen to be placed. The natural sentiments of respect to age, united with affection to kindred, early taking root, and strengthened by a daily sense of services received, often bind the mind more effectually, tho with gentle ties, than the force of compulsory laws.

The art of printing, practised probably at a very early period of the empire, has contributed to the preservation of it in a state nearly uniform to this time. It has been the means of diffusing universally, and establishing among all ranks of men, certain fixed principles of right, and rules of moral rectitude, which serve as so many

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dikes or barriers against the tumult of human passions, and restrain the propensities of men in the plenitude of power. At every change in the government of the neighbouring countries not so circumstanced, success, like a torrent, sweeps before it, and levels all former arrangements of society. But in China, institutions and opinions survive the wreck of revolutions. The sovereign may be removed, his whole family cut off; but the manners and condition of the people remain the same. The throne itself is supported by maxims propagated from the press. The virtues of its possessor, are emblazoned by it to all his subjects. It gives him the vast advantage of directing their sentiments as he thinks fit. His palaces, his gardens, his magnificence, create no envy towards a prince represented to be endowed with the most transcendent qualities; and to be employed in promoting, without intermission, the happiness of his people.

Exterior ceremonies performed to his honour, are not mere idle forms; but contribute to inspire the people with sentiments of respect and duty towards him. In the great palace of Peking, all the mandarines resident in the capital, assembled about noon on his Imperial Majesty's birthday, and, dressed in their robes of ceremony, made the usual prostrations before the throne; incense of sandal and rose woods burning upon it at the same time, and offerings being made of viands and



liquors, as if, tho absent, he were capable of enjoying Pekin.  
them.

Mr. Barrow was present while the same ceremonies were observed at Yuen-min-yuen; and he was informed that they likewise took place on that day in every part of the empire, the prostrators being every where attentive to turn their faces towards the capital.

On all the days of new and full moon, similar incense is burnt, and offerings are made before the throne by the officers of the household, in the several palaces of the Emperor.

Those palaces are very numerous throughout the empire. That of Peking forms the centre of the Tartar city. Tho that capital stands in the midst of a dusty plain, from whence the mountains of Tartary can be perceived only at a distance, yet the walls which environ the palace, offices, and gardens, include every variety of ground in miniature which the sportive hand of nature has created upon the surface of the globe. Mountains and vallies, lakes and rivers, rude precipices and gentle slopes, have been produced where nature did not intend them; but in such correct proportions, and with so much harmony, that, were it not for the general uniform appearance of the surrounding country, a spectator would entertain some doubt whether they were the real productions, or the successful imitations of nature. This world, in miniature, has been created at the command

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and for the pleasure of one man, but by the hard labour of many thousands.

The temples of Peking are not equal to its palaces. The religion of the Emperor is new in China, and its worship is performed with most magnificence in Tartary. The mandarines, the men of letters, from whom are selected the magistrates who govern the empire, and possess the upper ranks of life, venerate rather than they adore Confucius; and meet to honour and celebrate his memory in halls of a simple but neat construction. The numerous and lower classes of the people, are less able than inclined to contribute much towards the erection of large and costly edifices for public worship. Their religious attention is much engaged, besides, with their household gods. Every house has its altar and its deities. The books of their mythology contain representations of those who preside over their persons and properties, as well as over exterior objects likely to affect them. In the representation of *Lui-shin*, or spirit presiding over thunder, the violence of that meteor, which nothing is supposed capable of withstanding, the velocity of the lightning, which nothing can exceed, and their united effects, are designed by the monstrous figure involved in clouds, as engraved in the opposite page. His chin is terminated in the beak of an eagle, to express the devouring effects of thunder, as the wings do its swiftness. With one hand he grasps a thunderbolt, and in the



other is held a truncheon for striking the kettle-drums with which he is surrounded. The eagle's talons are sometimes represented as fixed upon the axis of a wheel, upon which, with aided velocity, he rolls among the clouds. In the original from whence the annexed figure has been taken, the dreadful effects of this terrific spirit beneath the clouds are pointed out by the appearance of animals

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yuen.

struck dead, and lying prostrate on the ground, buildings overturned, and trees torn up by the roots.

In the neighbourhood of Peking, the gardens and pleasure grounds of Yuen-min-yuen occupy a considerable tract of ground, of which the circuit was, according to the observation of Mr. Barrow, at least twelve miles. That gentleman, who saw more of it than any other person of the Embassy, thought it “ a delightful place. “ The grand and agreeable parts of nature were separated, connected, or arranged in so judicious a manner, “ as to compose onewhole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning jumble of objects; but such “ an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes “ entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong “ lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the roots, were “ to be found any where in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real “ dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper disposition of the objects intended to embellish its surface; “ for this purpose, tall and luxuriant trees of the deepest “ green were planted in the fore ground, from whence “ the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance “ gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; “ and in general the ground was terminated by broken “ and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied as “ well by the different species of trees in the group, as “ by the different times of the year in which they were



“ in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was appa-  
“ rently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way  
“ through the clifts of rocks, either originally found or  
“ designedly collected upon the spot. The effect of in-  
“ tricacy and concealment, seemed also to be well under-  
“ stood by the Chinese. At Yuen-min-yuen, a slight  
“ wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent  
“ building, when seen at a certain distance through the  
“ branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead  
“ of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis  
“ of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by ar-  
“ tificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil.

Yuen-min-  
yuen.

“ The only circumstance which militated against the  
“ picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese, was the  
“ formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings.  
“ Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to  
“ the first part of the charge; and their projection throws  
“ a softening shadow upon the colonnade which supports  
“ it. Some of those high towers, which Europeans call pa-  
“ godas, are well adapted objects for vistas, and are accord-  
“ ingly, for the most part, placed on elevated situations.

“ Notwithstanding the just ideas which the Chinese  
“ conceive of ornamental gardening, and the taste with  
“ which they dispose of every object to the greatest  
“ advantage, they are not only totally ignorant of the  
“ principles of perspective, and of the gradations of  
“ light and shade, but are utterly insensible of their

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“ effect, as appeared from their own performances with  
“ the pencil. When, likewise, several portraits by the  
“ best European artists, intended as presents for the  
“ Emperor, were exposed to view, the mandarines ob-  
“ serving the variety of tints occasioned by the light  
“ and shade, asked whether the originals had the right  
“ and left sides of the figure of different colours? They  
“ considered the shadow of the nose as a great imper-  
“ fection in the picture ; and some supposed it to have  
“ been placed there by accident. An Italian missionary  
“ at the court of Peking, of the name of Castiglione, who  
“ was an excellent painter, received orders from the  
“ Emperor to paint for him several pictures ; but it  
“ was intimated to him at the same time, to imitate the  
“ Chinese style of painting, and not that of Europe,  
“ which was considered as unnatural. Accordingly, in  
“ the performances meant to decorate the palace, houses  
“ above houses are seen in regular gradation to the top  
“ of the picture ; figures in the fore and back ground  
“ are all of the same size, setting, in fact, nature and the  
“ senses at defiance. He also painted a set of characters  
“ occupied in the different trades of China. The pencil-  
“ ling and colouring of these were incomparably well  
“ executed ; but for want of the proper shadows, the  
“ whole was without effect. Yet they please the Chinese  
“ in preference to any specimen of the arts that could be  
“ brought from Europe.”



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The Chinese, indeed, seem to consider shade as an accidental circumstance, which ought not to be carried from nature to a picture, from which it takes away a part of the eclat and uniformity of colouring; and as to the representation of objects at different distances, they prefer having them drawn, not as they appear to the eye, gradually diminishing as they recede from it, but of their actual size, as determined by the judgment correcting the errors of sight: errors necessary, however, to the beauty and consistency of landscape.

The ill effect of paintings executed in conformity to such notions, must operate as a discouragement to the art. In lieu of pictures, the houses are supplied with tablets of moral sentences, painted on wood or silk in the neatest manner; and these are deemed preferable to the works of the best masters. Tho the Chinese fail in grouping figures, and in every part of composition and design, they succeed in drawing individual objects. They are particularly happy in the delineation of natural history; the different subjects appearing not only correct, but with the features and attitudes of nature, and with an exactness so minute, that a Chinese painter sometimes reckons the number of scales upon a fish which he is to represent; the whole with a brilliancy of colouring, the more surprising, as it is found to be owing to the more patient and careful levigation of the same pigments which are used in Europe. Some

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European prints have been copied by them, and coloured with an effect which has attracted the admiration of the best judges; and a gentleman eminent for his taste in London, has now in his possession a coloured copy made in China, of a print from a study of Sir Joshua Reynolds, which he deems not unworthy of being added to his collection of valuable paintings.

“ The imitative powers of the Chinese,” Mr. Barrow indeed, observes, “ have long been noticed; but the  
“ little communication they have with other nations,  
“ and the want of encouragement from their own go-  
“ vernment, founded on the policy of discountenancing  
“ luxury and promoting labour, particularly that of agri-  
“ culture, seem to be the chief causes that have operated  
“ against a progressive state of the arts in China. Thus,” he adds, “ their knowledge in sculpture is still deficient  
“ in regard to form, attitude, and proportion. They  
“ have, indeed, with the tool or chisel, the art of cutting  
“ stone, wood, or ivory, remarkably sharp and clean;  
“ but their productions are sometimes distorted, and un-  
“ natural. The human figure is often out of due propor-  
“ tion. Their aversion to anatomy might partly be the  
“ cause. They do not succeed better in the representa-  
“ tion of a lion. There are two large bronze figures of  
“ that animal on two marble pedestals before one of the  
“ gateways leading to the hall of audience at Yuen-min-  
“ yuen. The metal had been cast in small pieces, which



“ are fitted together in a very ingenious manner, tho  
“ there are at least a hundred different pieces in each  
“ figure ; but so totally unlike are they to what they  
“ were intended to represent, as appears by the annexed  
“ engraving of one of them, that they might almost be  
“ mistaken for knights in armour, with periwigs such as  
“ were worn in the time of King Charles.”

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The lion, however, may be considered as a creature of the imagination among the Chinese. It is not bred in the country. It has not been brought amongst them, either as a present to the sovereign, or as an object of



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curiosity to be shewn for profit. Those statues were probably bad imitations of bad drawings of the lion, whose real superiority of strength and imputed generosity of disposition, have brought him into notice farther than he has travelled.

The larger and mightier animal, the elephant, is to be found, as an appendage of greatness, in the palaces of the Emperor, where it was no less acceptable for its qualities of docility and force, which rendered it capable of being useful, than for its vast size and singular make. It is the only quadruped that has a proboscis, tho examples of it are to be frequently found in the insect tribe, and among others, in the common fly alluded to sometimes as gaining a victory over that huge adversary.

Individual elephants of both sexes were brought to China from the neighbourhood of the Equator, and a few of them were bred to the northward of the Tropic ; on which occasion they were discovered, however discreet in their amours, to unite in the manner of other quadrupeds, notwithstanding a formation apparently inconvenient on both sides, but which accommodates itself to particular purposes. The Chinese elephants are smaller than those of Cochin-China, and of a lighter hue. They are literally granivorous, being generally fed with rice and millet, tho the food of that animal in its wild state, consists like that of the giraffe, the camel, and the goat,



more frequently of the tender leaves of trees and shrubs, than of the seeds or blades of corn or grass. Pekin.

The officers of the household and other attendants in the Imperial palaces, are all, or most of them, persons who, before the age of puberty, were deprived of the means of becoming men, or who, since that period, have ceased being such. Nothing assuredly but the tortures of a maddening jealousy could have first suggested the idea of mutilating one sex, in order to render it an unsuspected guard upon the other ; and nothing less than the extreme abuse of unlimited authority, could effectuate so cruel and unnatural a purpose. Other motives, however, might have come in addition to give occasion to the continuance and multiplication of such beings. No longer belonging to either sex, held in horror and contempt by both, without the possibility of offspring, unendearing and unendeared, and *like no brother*; they may be supposed to be the more bound by the factitious tie of servitude, and devoted and attached without reserve to the prince by whom they are employed. Menial servants in the beginning, and pretending to no importance, they are the ready and servile ministers to the potentate's private pleasures and amusement, and creep gradually into familiarity and favour. From thence, as the annals of China in numberless instances testify, they have sometimes passed into situations of power and authority, in which once placed, they revenged themselves, as if it

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were on mankind, for the wrongs they had suffered in their persons ; and were often the causes of calamities ending almost in the ruin of the state. They had been driven, with a few exceptions, on several occasions, from the court. Near six thousand of them were dismissed in the minority of Caung-shee, grandfather of Chen-lung; but they have been gradually increasing since that period, and hold at present most of the inferior offices at least in the palaces of Peking and Yuen-min-yuen.

The qualification for such offices, consists in that operation, which in a few parts of Europe, is performed for meliorating the voice, and disqualifies for being a parent. But to be entrusted with the care of the ladies of the court, or to be allowed to approach to their apartments, it is necessary to be what, without reference to colour, the Turks are said to have termed a black eunuch, which means, that all traces of sex should completely be erased.

It may appear surprising to the English reader, that the operations for this purpose, however delicate in themselves, are performed, even upon Chinese of an adult age, with little accident or peril in respect to life. Such a fact is the more extraordinary, as the art of surgery is so little known in China, that not even letting blood by opening a vein is attempted there, and anatomy is not only unknown, but held in horror. It is, however, to be remarked, that the Chinese recover from all kinds of accidents more rapidly, and after fewer symp-



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toms of any kind of danger, than most people do in Europe. The constant and quick recovery from considerable and alarming wounds, has been observed likewise to take place among the natives of Hindostan. The European surgeons there, have often been surprised at the easy cure of sepoy's in the English service, from accidents accounted extremely formidable. The clear and pure atmosphere of China and India, may be indeed more favourable on such occasions, than the *cælum nebulis fædum* of Tacitus's description of Great Britain. But the habits of life contribute no doubt, most to determine the nature of the constitution ; and its propensity to inflame and mortify in consequence, as it is technically expressed of any solution of continuity. The Chinese and Hindoos are not generally prone to excesses of any kind. The Hindoos of the lowest and most numerous cast, are not restricted from eating any kind of meat, excepting beef; but they and the Chinese consume a much smaller proportion of animal food, and drink a much less quantity of spirituous and fermented liquors than the people, at least, of northern Europe.

The operations undergone by eunuchs, are performed upon subjects of every age, from childhood to that of forty years. It is supposed that ligatures anointed with a caustic liquid, are mostly used on this occasion in preference to the knife. The patient has been often found to walk abroad in the course of not many days, appa-

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rently as well in health as if nothing had happened to him. When an adult is thus transformed into a black or complete eunuch, it generally happens, that his beard soon begins, and gradually continues, to fall off, until none at length is left. He becomes withered in the same proportion, and in a few years his face is furrowed like the *wrinkled hag, with age grown double*. This description agrees with that of Chrysostom, who observes, that “when the paint was washed away from the face of Eutropius (the eunuch), it appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman.” Claudian remarks, indeed, that there is scarcely any interval between the youth and decrepitude of such persons. The principal attendant upon the ladies of Yuen-min-yuen, seemed to be sensible of this fact. Tho he was under thirty years of age, he never made his appearance without his face being entirely painted; his person, as it were, made up; and his dress altogether gaudy; and adorned with several trinkets and tassels at his girdle. He was at least six feet high, and very lusty; but ill made, and loosely put together. A girl’s voice could scarcely be more shrill or feeble.

If a man wishes to emerge out of the plebeian rank, and submits to become a eunuch, he is received in one of the palaces immediately, and promoted to some employment in it, which gives him the advantages and importance of a gentleman. It detracts nothing from his



title, whether he carries a besom, or a bunch of keys. Very few, however, are dignified with a ball upon the cap, which is more properly the badge of office of the civil and military mandarines.

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The influence of those mutilated inmates of the palaces, is often much greater than their acknowledged authority; and mandarines of eminence who had disoblged them, have been known to be disgraced through their insinuations. Conscious how much may sometimes depend upon their tales and representations in the intercourse of their familiar services with the sovereign their master, they carry their effrontery even to the degree of treating with indignity, some of the branches of his own family. A prince, about eighteen years of age, a grandson of the Emperor, was once among the visitors to view the presents brought from England, when a eunuch actually pushed him out of doors, saying, it was fitter for him to be at school, than idling in that hall.

A school, it seems, is kept in the palace for those princes, at which they are principally instructed in the Chinese and Man-choo Tartar languages, and also in the history, rites and ceremonies of both countries.

It is supposed, that the occupation of the eunuchs in the interior of the palace has much decreased with the Emperor's advanced age. The acknowledged Empress has been dead some time, and his Imperial Majesty treated very slightly a ridiculous proposition made to

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him to marry again, after her decease. Several of the female companions of his youth were understood to be now no more.

At the death of an Emperor, all his women are said to be removed to a particular building within the walls of the palace, where they continue for the rest of their days, secluded from the world. This building is termed the Palace of Chastity.

There are, in China, a few instances of Pagan nuns, who make a vow of remaining virgins; for which, tho contrary to the general maxims both of policy and morality in that state, they, however, are admired, as is usual for a perseverance in successful efforts for the accomplishment of any thing very difficult.

On the accession of a new Emperor, the principal persons of the country are said to bring their daughters to the palace for his choice. They who are accepted, reflect no slight honour as well as credit upon their families. Beside those selected for his Imperial Majesty, others are presented as wives or concubines to the princes of his blood. Concubines in China are considered in the same light as the handmaids of the Scriptures.

The missionaries about the palace, who are well aware of the precariousness of their condition in it, and how easily alarms may be sounded against men aiming at changing the religion and opinions of the empire, are more apprehensive of displeasing a eunuch, than a man-



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darine; the former being of a disposition more insolent and capricious, and more subject to the meaner passions of malice and revenge. Every missionary endeavours to continue in the good graces of all persons of the Imperial family, and others about the court, by much humility of demeanour, by rendering little services to them in the exercise of the arts which he professes, and sometimes by presenting to them any European article in his possession, for which they may conceive a fancy; and to which is always added, the expression of his humble thanks for the honour done him in accepting it. The missionaries generally speak upon their knees to the princes of the blood.

Some missionaries constantly attended the gentlemen who directed the arrangement of the presents at Yuen-min-yuen, in order to serve as interpreters, and to be instructed in the nature and use of the instruments deposited there.

Those gentlemen were very handsomely treated in the palace. A mandarine called upon them every day, to know if they were satisfied; and whether they wished to have any thing beside what had already been supplied to them.

One of them generally went to Peking three times a week. A one-horse chaise was always ready for him. Sometimes he was accompanied by a mandarine with his servant; but he was frequently suffered to go alone.

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Every morning he received a message, to know whether he chose to go that day *to the city*.

The different machines and instruments being, at length, mounted and put in proper order, and, together with other presents, arranged to the best advantage, in different parts of the hall of audience, and on both sides of the throne, every person belonging to the Embassy, then at Yuen-min-yuen, was ready to return from thence ; when it occurred to the principal eunuch of that palace, to declare that an order was come from the Emperor to change the disposition of the presents, and to place them all at one end of the hall of audience, “ that his Imperial Majesty might be able to view them from the throne, “ without being at the trouble of turning his head.” Such was the motive alleged for this new arrangement. On account of which, as a matter of importance, the usual custom of suspending all kinds of work about any of the palaces, for three days before, and three days after, the Emperor’s birthday, was ordered to be dispensed with.

Very shortly after the Ambassador’s return to Peking, the Emperor’s approach to Yuen-min-yuen was announced, with an intimation to his Excellency, that it would be expected as the usual etiquette, that he should go some miles upon the road to meet his Imperial Majesty. The Ambassador was at this time considerably indisposed with the rheumatism, which indeed had fre-



quently tormented him since his arrival in China. The mandarines, who perceived how much his Excellency suffered at the time, and how little qualified he was to make any unusual exertion, proposed to him, in order to divide the fatigue of the journey, to set out the evening previous to the Emperor's expected arrival, and to sleep that night at his old villa near Yuen-min-yuen, from whence he would have but a little way to go next morning. This plan rendered it practicable for the Ambassador to pay the intended compliment. He accordingly, with his usual suite of English and Chinese, slept at the villa the following night. The next morning, all were in motion before the rising of the sun. They went along a road, parallel to that which was exclusively intended for the Emperor's use. A shallow ditch divided the two roads. Both were illuminated by variegated lanterns, each suspended by the junction of three poles fixed triangularly into the ground. The party arrived within two hours at the place of general rendezvous. They were conducted into a spacious saloon, where refreshments were provided; after partaking of which, they proceeded to the spot where the Emperor was to pass, and could observe this mark of their respectful attention. Their station was upon a green bank to the left of the road. On each side of them, were a multitude of mandarines, guards, and standard bearers; many of the latter had their standards furled and laid across the

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Emperor's road, while waiting for his approach, as if to prevent any others from attempting to pass upon it. The way was lined with troops for several miles, as far as the eye could reach. Close to the road, a tent was prepared for the Ambassador on account of his indisposition, that he might feel no inconvenience while waiting for his Imperial Majesty. Various squadrons of horse, with bowmen and their quivers, preceded the Emperor's approach. Soon afterwards a palanquin, or sedan chair, appeared, such as has been described in a former chapter, but covered with a bright yellow cloth, and adorned with windows of plate glass. It was carried by eight bearers, while eight others walked close to them, in readiness to relieve the former. The chair was attended by a troop of horse in yellow uniforms, also by pikemen, standard, and shield bearers. In it was the Emperor. As soon as he perceived the Ambassador, he stopped to deliver a gracious message of civility to his Excellency; adding, that he desired him to retire without delay from the cold and damp of the morning, so unfavourable to the complaint with which he heard of his being affected.

Behind the chair, followed a two-wheel clumsy carriage without springs, not differing in construction from the common vehicles of the country, but covered with yellow cloth, and empty, as if intended to be used occasionally by the Emperor. When such a carriage is compared with the easy, light, and elegant chariots imported



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there as presents, it is not likely that any national prejudices will long resist a sense of such a superiority in comfort and convenience; and it may therefore happen, that English carriages will become in China an article of merchandise, as well as watches or broad cloth.

The Emperor's carriage was immediately followed by a chair containing the great Colao Ho-choong-taung. While his Imperial Majesty was engaged in sending across the ditch to the Ambassador, several mandarines leapt over it, and threw themselves upon their knees to pay their obeisance to the Prime Minister. It was remarked that no other minister, nor any one of the Emperor's family, was in his immediate train, or even within sight. The distinction was no doubt the greater for him who was; or, perhaps, some circumstance of convenience then required, or accident occasioned, this separation of his Imperial Majesty from his other courtiers.

The Ambassador, whose excursion was of no service to him, returned without delay to Peking; while the Emperor pursued his route to Yuen-min-yuen. He was impatient to view the presents that the Ambassador had left there when he went to Zhe-hol. His Imperial Majesty examined them with an attention far exceeding that of a person who would think of "the trouble of turning his head to view them." He seemed, indeed, much gratified with the sight of most of them; and ordered

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silver to be distributed among the workmen who had been occupied in arranging them. Several of the instruments and machines were tried in his presence. Distant objects were observed through the telescope; and metals melted in the focus of Parker's great lens. It could scarcely escape the philosophical mind of his Imperial Majesty, that the same material, glass, was made to operate, by European ingenuity, such various and extraordinary purposes. A model of the Royal Sovereign, a ship of war of a hundred and ten guns, attracted much of his notice. He made many inquiries from such of the gentlemen of the Embassy as were present, concerning the various parts of that model; and in general, indeed, about British shipping. But it was easy to perceive, that the interpreters found much difficulty in explaining many technical expressions; a circumstance which evidently abridged the number of his questions. Yet the curiosity testified by him on this occasion, and his condescension in conversation with private gentlemen, made it probable that a sense of the tedious and unsatisfactory intercourse, which is held through the means of an interpreter, prevented, more than either the etiquette of the court, or an indifference about Europe, any very frequent communication personally between the Emperor and the Ambassador.

What were, indeed, the interior sentiments at this period, of the former in relation to the latter or his na-



tion, it was, in the situation of his Excellency, difficult for him to discover. He had, however, grounds for flattering himself, that the jealousy that had been conceived against the English, on occasion of their supposed interference in the Thibet war, had, since the arrival of the Embassy, been gradually done away from the Imperial mind. The friends of the Ambassador were assured also, that the commander of the forces in that war, and who has since been defeated in another, was to be removed from the vice-royalty of Canton, where his avowed enmity to the name of an Englishman, rendered him very unfit to preside over the British factory or people there. In other respects, it was probable enough that the Emperor might have fluctuated between the opposite representations made to him concerning the English. It was, however, the first time that any of them had ever appeared at his court. And it has been observed, that prejudices imbibed against the absent, are sometimes softened and gradually diminished by their presence. Friends had certainly risen up to them, among the great officers and mandarines, tho their exertions could only be occasional. Through their means, the Ambassador learnt that a council had been held to take into consideration the letter brought by him from the King of Great Britain, and the mode or proceeding proper to be used towards his subjects. To this council the Prime Minister, it was understood, had called the Thibet com-

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mander, and the convicted Hoppo of Canton, to give their testimony and advice, on the ground of being competent to judge of the conduct and disposition of the foreigners trading to that port; but in fact, as was supposed, to strengthen the opinion of the Colao against the more favourable inclinations of the Emperor. Through the suggestions of such persons, there was little prospect of obtaining, at present, any particular advantage, had such been the immediate object of the Ambassador. He felt more forcibly the propriety of sending immediately to the Colao, the message alluded to in the beginning of this chapter, announcing his desire of asking the Emperor's leave to depart from Peking, soon after the Chinese new year, in February.

In lieu of an answer to this message, his Excellency received an invitation from the Colao, to call upon him at Yuen-min-yuen, where he had some English letters to deliver to him. This invitation being known throughout the Embassy, the pulse of every individual belonging to it beat high with expectation of hearing, at last, from his particular friends in England. Even they who were immediately engaged in the negotiation, suffered all political considerations to be suspended in their minds, and gave way to the satisfaction that they took for granted, must await them at Yuen-min-yuen. When they arrived there, a few letters were delivered, indeed, in the English language, but written from Chu-san by



persons on board the *Lion* and *Hindustan*. The principal mandarine of that place was actuated, it seems, by a natural impulse of propriety and civility, in forwarding in the Emperor's packets, letters addressed to persons visiting at his court. Other motives must have operated upon the mandarines at Canton, from whence the most interesting and important intelligence, as coming from Europe, was to be expected.

Yuen-min-yuen.

The jealousy which had taken possession of the Colao's mind, with regard to the designs of the English, rendered him anxious to know the contents of the letters from the Ambassador's correspondent at Chu-san, Sir Erasmus Gower. He was informed of the chief purport of them, which intimated the speedy intention of Sir Erasmus to sail from thence; but that the *Hindustan* could not depart till her commander had joined her. His Excellency then put freely the letters into the Colao's hands, in order to remove from his mind any doubt he might entertain of the exactness of the account given of them.

Ho-choong-taung seemed somewhat alarmed at the intended departure of the *Lion*, and said, that "he hoped that ship was not yet gone, but would wait to carry back the Embassy; that the Emperor, upon first hearing of the Ambassador's illness, and of the loss of some persons of his suite, by death, since his arrival in China, had remarked how much foreigners

Yuen-min-  
yuen.

“ were liable to suffer from the severe winters of Pe-  
“ kin; and being apprehensive that the present visitors  
“ would run great risks of injuring their healths ma-  
“ terially by continuing there, thought it might be de-  
“ sirable for them to set out before the rivers and canals  
“ were frozen, which sometimes took place very early,  
“ and on a sudden; as the route by land was necessarily  
“ fatiguing and inconvenient. The Colao added, on his  
“ part, that as to the feast of the new year, for which he  
“ supposed his Excellency might wish to wait, it was  
“ nothing more than a repetition of what he had seen  
“ already at Zhe-hol.”

It was palpable enough, that other motives were covered under the affected solicitude for the health of the Embassy; yet it was necessary to reply upon the same tone, and to observe, that “ being themselves natives of  
“ a climate more northern than that of Peking, they were  
“ less fearful of the effects of cold than other foreigners  
“ might reasonably be; and that they had taken precau-  
“ tions against any degree of it, to which that capital  
“ might be subject:” and then passing to other considerations, the Ambassador observed “ how much he  
“ should regret to quit so soon a court where he had  
“ been so graciously received; that his Sovereign’s in-  
“ tentions were, that he should continue long enough,  
“ and at his (the King of England’s) charge, to have  
“ frequent opportunities, of which a very few only



“ had hitherto occurred, of renewing his respects to his  
“ Imperial Majesty, for the purpose of cultivating and  
“ cementing a friendship between the two nations, thus  
“ happily begun. With which view, likewise, his mas-  
“ ter had instructed him to say how much it would be  
“ pleasing to his Majesty, if the Emperor had found it  
“ consistent with the Chinese customs, to send one or  
“ more of his subjects as Embassadors to England; for  
“ whose going and returning, his Majesty would take  
“ care to provide proper ships; that he, the Colao, had,  
“ when at Zhe-hol, been so good to flatter him with the  
“ hope of many meetings with him, which, however  
“ anxiously he wished for, his sudden departure would  
“ necessarily prevent.”

Yuen-min-  
yuen.

His Excellency then endeavoured to explain in general terms, what he should have been most desirous of introducing into conversation at such meetings, excluding whatever might have carried the least appearance of complaint, and using every degree of caution and forbearance throughout, lest he should endanger the interests entrusted to his care, or weaken whatever impression his mission had already made in favour of his country.

The Colao preserved a perfect command over all his sentiments, and did not enter into any earnest discussion of the topics which had been mentioned; but reverting to the circumstance of the departure of the Embassy, concluded by saying, that “ the Emperor was actuated

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“ in his proposal concerning it solely by his anxiety  
“ for its welfare ; but that in every other respect its stay  
“ would be very agreeable to him.” Nothing could be more gracious and flattering than the expressions which Ho-choong-taung used to the Ambassador from himself upon the occasion. The interpreter, tho a native of China, but not long accustomed to the appearances and language of his own court, was firmly of opinion that it would be perfectly at his Excellency’s option to continue as long at it as might suit his purpose.

The Colaō suffered the Ambassador to take leave of him for that time, without giving him the least intimation of the Emperor’s answer to his Majesty’s letter having been prepared, and intended to be delivered to him the next day, and which delivery is supposed to be meant as a signal for departure. Immediately, however, on his return to Peking, he had information to that effect from a private hand: and in the afternoon, Chow-ta-Zhin, and Van-ta-Zhin, called upon him to mention that he was to have a message from Ho-choong-taung, to meet him the next day at the great palace of Peking. They added, that they thought it probable, tho they affected to say that they were not certain, that the Emperor’s letter to the King of England would then be presented to him ; in which case, they advised him to ask permission to return with it to his Sovereign without delay. It was obvious that they had been directed to



give such advice ; and were indeed under a constraint unusual with them in their intercourse with the Ambassador, as well as in some depression of spirits, while they offered it.

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Early the next morning the Legate waited on his Excellency to acquaint him that the Colao wished to see him at the great hall of audience in the palace of Peking, as soon as he could get ready.

The Ambassador, however indisposed at the time, was unwilling to fail to the appointment, and set out properly attended in a short time to the palace, to which he passed through a considerable part of the Tartar city. The palace is encompassed by a high wall, within which he was conducted through spacious courts, along canals of stagnant water, and over bridges of granite, with balustrades of marble, to the foot of the hall, where he found the Emperor's answer contained in a large roll covered with yellow silk, and placed in a chair of state hung with curtains of the same colour. It was afterwards carried in form up the middle of three flights of stairs, while the Colao and others who had hitherto stood by it, and the Ambassador and his suite, went up the side steps to the hall: a single structure surrounded by many others, itself of great size and magnificence, tho built of wood upon a foundation of granite, and decorated within side and without, with gilding, and in the happiest disposition of the most pleasing and vivid colours.

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The answer was placed in the midst of the hall, from whence it was afterwards to be sent to his Excellency's hôtel.

The contents of the answer were not announced; but whatever of grace or favour it might contain, was probably not owing to the Colao or his associates, whose stedfast refusal of the gifts usual from foreign ministers, was a sufficient indication, according to Eastern manners, of their adverse sentiments. In conversing, however, with Ho-choong-taung on the points desirable to be obtained for the English East India Company in China, he required a brief abstract of them to be made out, which, without binding himself to support, he said should be taken into immediate consideration. It was some advantage at least, that the demands themselves should be known, and serve as answers to the assertions so often made at court; that foreigners, however undeserving, had nothing to wish for at Canton, that justice or humanity required; but that the Embassy was intended to forward some purposes inimical to the government. His Excellency, therefore, undertook to forward a statement of those demands without delay.

In the meantime, it seemed to be part of the intended ceremony of the day, to display the beauties of the palace to the Ambassador, which the Colao was proceeding to do with the same politeness he had done in the gardens of Zhe-hol; but his Excellency's indisposition



obliging him to retire, he left the Minister Plenipotentiary, and other gentlemen of the Embassy to accompany the Colao through a great number of separate edifices, erected on a regular plan, and upon a similar construction with those they had already seen in the Imperial palaces, but upon a larger scale, and in a higher style of magnificence. They were all intended for public occasions and appearance. The Emperor's private apartments were pointed out at a distance in the interior palace.

The same evening, the Emperor's answer to the King's letter was brought in state to the Ambassador's hôtel. At the same time were sent several chests of presents from the Emperor to his Majesty, containing specimens, no doubt, of the best kind, of the different articles of the produce and manufactures of the empire. Other presents came also for the Ambassador and all the persons of his suite ; and the attention of his Imperial Majesty in giving some small token of his beneficence to the meanest servant who was present, was extended likewise to persons then absent, in the instance of all the common men as well as officers of the ships which had brought the Embassy to China.

Hitherto no positive direction had been given relative to his Excellency's departure, and it might be inferred from the last declaration made on the part of the Emperor at Yuen-min-yuen, that recourse would not be had

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for that purpose, to absolute command ; but it would be difficult, and perhaps useless, to stay against the Colao's inclination ; yet the Ambassador had hitherto but very little time for advancing in the object of his mission ; and he could not avoid wishing to persevere a little longer, in the hope of rendering the administration more generally propitious towards it. In these circumstances, the same friendly person who had given private intimation of the answer, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the court of Peking, and had some knowledge also of the increasing hardships of the trade and traders at Canton, suggested, that “ the Chinese had no other idea  
“ of an Embassy, than that of a visit with presents on  
“ some solemn festival, and to last only during the con-  
“ tinuance of the latter ; that accordingly, of the many  
“ Embassies sent to them in the past and present cen-  
“ tury, none of them were suffered to pass that period ;  
“ that in the present reign, the Ambassador of the Por-  
“ tuguese, the most favoured nation, was dismissed in  
“ thirty-nine days ; that the Chinese had little notion  
“ of entering into treaties with foreign countries ; but  
“ whatever business might be desirable to transact with  
“ them, must, after a favourable foundation for it, laid  
“ by the compliment of an Embassy, be afterwards pro-  
“ secuted to effect by slow degrees, for that much might  
“ be obtained from them by time and management, but  
“ nothing suddenly. That it was true, the oppressions



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“ by the inferior officers and others who had to deal  
“ with strangers at Canton, had been augmenting gra-  
“ dually ; and, unless curbed by power, must in the  
“ course of time become so heavy as to leave no alterna-  
“ tive but that of giving up the trade entirely, or of  
“ sending at last an embassy to remonstrate against  
“ them ; that the sooner, therefore, it had been un-  
“ dertaken, the better ; that had the present arrived  
“ sooner, and before the troubles in France had indis-  
“ posed the Chinese ministry and tribunals against the  
“ smallest innovation, it would have had fewer difficul-  
“ ties to encounter in the outset ; but that the present  
“ mission had made such an impression throughout the  
“ empire, as must lead to beneficial consequences in fa-  
“ vour of the English, notwithstanding any momen-  
“ tary obstructions ; and that henceforward the oppres-  
“ sions would at least be at a stand : that such was the  
“ nature and practice of the Chinese government, that  
“ however adverse in the beginning to any new propo-  
“ sitions, lest it should be surprised into an undue con-  
“ cession or improper regulation, the same matters might  
“ be brought again, when the offensive novelty of the  
“ idea was over, into a more serious and dispassionate  
“ consideration ; that this event might be accelerated by  
“ the means of letters sent from one sovereign to the  
“ other by the annual ships, which might be done with-  
“ out impropriety, now that the communication had been

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“ opened between them in a fit manner.” He concluded by advising against persisting to continue any longer at Peking.

An event, the news of which had just reached the Ambassador, but was then unknown to the adviser, came in aid of those reflections. One of the Neapolitan Chinese that left the *Lion* near Macao, after resuming his native dress, and coming to join his family in Peking, conveyed to his Excellency a letter, dated in July, 1793, from one of the India Company's Commissioners at Canton, in which, mentioning the political events in England to the month of January of the same year, he said that there was the strongest probability of an instant rupture with the republicans of France and Brabant. It appeared not unlikely, that a combination of foreigners under French or Flemish colours, might endeavour to intercept some of the British ships sailing from China separately home, if it should happen that a convoy could not arrive in time to conduct them together back in safety. Under such circumstances, the Ambassador could not render any service more immediately essential or acceptable, than by taking with him home, under convoy of the *Lion*, all the ships of the ensuing season from Canton. As the last vessels were seldom ready before March, he might, in the interval, have leisure to try in person if any thing could be done at Japan, if he should have the good fortune to overtake Sir Erasmus Gower at Chu-san; and



this he thought not improbable, if the government would immediately dispatch a letter to Sir Erasmus, which the Colao's wish for the departure of the Embassy, might induce him to forward.

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His Excellency determined, therefore, to announce to Ho-choong-taung, his intention of joining immediately Sir Erasmus Gower at Chu-san, and to request that a letter from him might be forwarded to that commander without a moment's delay, as it otherwise might not overtake him.

This determination was indeed perfectly agreeable to the Colao, and every consideration proved the propriety of it. Chinese decorum required that the Embassy should cease with the receipt of the Emperor's answer, and of the *farewell* presents ; nor could any personal communication afterwards take place with his Imperial Majesty. And it was as little consistent with the dignity of the mission, to attempt continuing longer than it was felt to be perfectly acceptable, as for a common guest to remain beyond the time for which he had been invited, and was welcome. The intercourse with the Emperor, of which the supposed termination was the chief ground of the Ambassador's regret, was in fact maintained, as will appear in the subsequent pages, more intimately, and through a more favourable channel, than while he remained in the middle of his court.

So sudden a removal was a disappointment to several

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persons of the Embassy, who had made their arrangements for passing the winter at Peking. Judging of its temperature by the latitude of the place, a few minutes under forty degrees north, they were not aware of the violent effect of the great range of high Tartarian mountains, covered perpetually with snow, upon that capital, where the average degree of the thermometer, is under twenty in the night during the winter months, and even in the day time considerably below the freezing point. The usual inhabitants were guarded against cold, not only by habit, but by an increase of clothing, in proportion to its intenseness, consisting of furs, woollen clothes, and quilted cotton. They are not accustomed to the presence of fire. They have no chimnies, except to kitchens in great hôtels. Fires, on which Englishmen depend chiefly against suffering by the sharpness of the atmosphere, could not well answer that purpose in houses which are so constructed as to admit the external air almost on every side. Stoves are, however, common in large buildings. They are fed from without with fossil coal, found plentifully in the neighbourhood. Those stoves are placed frequently under the platforms on which the inhabitants sit in the day time, and rest at night. The worst weather experienced in that capital might be considered as mild by the Tartars, coming from a climate still more rude; but other foreigners are said to feel themselves less comfortable at Peking in the



winter than in summer, tho the heat there is then raised to the opposite extreme. In both they seem to require a *seasoning*. Several individuals of the Embassy fell ill during their stay ; and all did not recover. The human frame seems better calculated for the hottest than the coldest atmosphere ; and to exist at the Equator rather than at the Pole.

Pekin.

## CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE FROM PEKIN. JOURNEY TO HAN-CHOO-FOO,  
PARTLY UPON THE IMPERIAL CANAL.

Departure  
from Peking.

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THE resolution having been once formed by the Ambassador, of endeavouring to overtake the Lion at Chu-san, he became as anxious to set out from Peking, as he had been before desirous of protracting his stay in it. Another circumstance contributed also to precipitate his departure. The Pei-ho, and other smaller rivers in the north of China, are partly fed by the melting of the snow in summer on the tops of the Tartarian mountains. While this operation of nature continues, the rivers are deep and fit for the purposes of navigation; but towards the end of autumn, when the sun's oblique rays fall with less effect upon the earth, and the melting ceases, those rivers become so extremely shallow as well as slow, that boats of convenient size can no longer pass upon them, even before the supervening frost imparts solidity to their diminished and sluggish waters. The mandarines who attended the Embassy, and were aware of the extreme fatigue and inconvenience of travelling much by land in China, especially in winter, hurried every preparation in order to get upon the Pei-ho, while it was yet



navigable. It was settled that the party should proceed to Han-choo-foo, capital of the province of Che-Kiang, of which Chu-san forms a part, where, if Sir Erasmus Gower should be still in waiting for the Ambassador, the latter might join him in a few days ; and if otherwise, he might continue his route directly for Canton, and from thence to Europe. Chow-ta-Zhin, and Vanta-Zhin, who were steadily attached to the Embassy, and on whom much of its comforts depended, were allowed, by his Excellency's desire, tho regularly pertaining to the province of Pe-che-lee, to accompany him throughout. He derived an advantage of still greater importance, from the very doubts and suspicions which the enemies of the English had inspired into the Colao's mind ; and had even endeavoured to convey to that of his Imperial Majesty. It was thought, it seems, material, that a person in whom government placed the utmost confidence, should be appointed to accompany these suspected strangers in their long journey through the empire, in order to watch their conduct, and penetrate, if possible, their real character and designs. The choice fell upon the Colao Sun-ta-Zhin, mentioned in the third chapter of this volume. As he had acquitted himself to the perfect satisfaction of the court, when sent to treat with the delegates from Russia on the frontiers, he was, no doubt, deemed the fittest for a confidential commission concerning other foreigners. He was of open and engaging

Departure  
from Pekin.

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Departure  
from Pekin.

manners, and not likely, at least, to adopt the passions or prejudices of the Legate. The selection of a man of such high dignity to accompany the Embassy, was considered by the Chinese as a mark of peculiar honour paid to it, and was indeed announced as such to his Excellency.

On the morning of the seventh of October, Ho-choong-taung with other Colaos, came to a pavilion within the gates of Pekin, to go through the ceremonies of parting with the Ambassador. Several gracious expressions were communicated to him on the part of his Imperial Majesty ; and the full etiquette of Chinese civility was observed by the Ministers who represented him. They expressed their hope, that his Excellency was satisfied with the treatment the Embassy had hitherto received during its stay amongst them ; and their assurances that nothing should be wanting (as indeed nothing was,) to render his journey to the port of embarkation commodious and agreeable to him. Two tubes of bamboo wood covered with yellow cloth were placed upon a table, containing rolls of yellow paper resembling vellum, on one of which was written a list of the Imperial presents ; and on the other, an answer to the demands which had been lately made by the Ambassador. Could any hope have been entertained that this answer contained a compliance with those demands, which neither the disposition of the men who had been consulted upon them, nor the



suddenness with which they came to a determination concerning them, warranted, it must have been effectually done away, by the silence, upon this subject, of Ho-choong-taung, who, had those answers been favourable, would have made a merit of communicating such acceptable intelligence. Both rolls were, in the Ambassador's presence, tied with yellow ribands behind the shoulders of a mandarine of the fifth order, he kneeling during the operation, to be afterwards carried by him on horseback, as far as the river in which his Excellency was to embark, in the manner shewn in the 32d plate of the folio volume. Such is the distance between ranks in that country, that two Chinese companions of the Embassy, of no mean degree, took leave also of the Colao upon their knees. The interpreter, tho he had been announced as secretary to the Embassy for the Chinese language, was always obliged to stand before the Colao; and indeed the haughty general of the Thibet army once forced him to interpret upon his knees.

Departure  
from Pekin.

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After parting with the Emperor's ministers, the Ambassador, attended by his former retinue of English and Chinese, passed through one of the eastern gates of Pekin, where he was saluted with the usual honours, and proceeded directly towards Tong-choo-foo, in order to embark upon the Pei-ho.

The weather was now so much cooler than when the

Departure  
from Pekin.

Embassy had passed before on the magnificent causeway leading from the capital, that none of the individuals belonging to it suffered from the pressure of the crowds which were assembled on it. It did not, however, require the presence of strangers to fill constantly that great avenue. Besides the multitudes employed in supplying Pekin or drawing supplies from it, the many attendants upon men in office resorting to or quitting it, and the slow processions, particularly of funerals, occupy often the whole of that broad road. No person is allowed to be buried within the city; and the ceremonies of interring the dead, seems to throng the gates as much as the supply of provisions for the living. Whatever be the rank or fortune of a Chinese in a private station, he makes habitually no parade or show, reserving his principal expence for solemn festivals, or particular events arising in his family. The loss of a parent, is, in the manners of the country, certainly the greatest. The sentiment of affection and respect toward such while living, is not suddenly extinguished in the breast of the survivors. The heart is indulged, and in some degree consoled, by paying superfluous devoirs to the manes of the deceased. The dictates of nature in this instance, are confirmed and enforced by the moral laws which govern the empire. Every institution tending to maintain the habits of duty on behalf of the offspring towards their progenitors, is sanctified into a precept not to be neglected but



at the peril of being infamous. The first procession which was seen this day, was preceded by several performers on solemn music, then followed a variety of insignia, some of silken colours, and painted boards with devices and characters, displaying the rank and office of him who was no more. Immediately before the corpse, the male relations walked, each supported by friends, occupied in preventing them from giving way to the excesses and extravagance of grief, to which the appearance of their countenances implied that they were prone. Over the mourners were carried umbrellas with deep curtains hanging from the edges. Several persons were employed to burn circular pieces of paper, covered chiefly with tinfoil, as they passed by burying grounds and temples. These pieces in the popular opinion, like the coin to Charon for being conveyed to the Elysian fields, are understood to be convertible in the next stage of existence, into the means of providing the necessaries of that new life. Notwithstanding the philosophical doctrines of the learned Chinese, which exclude all notions unconsistant to reason, as well as the reality of all beings not referable to the senses; they often yield, in practice, to the current notions of the weak and vulgar. The people, among other superstitions, are particularly scrupulous about the time and place of burying their dead. The delay occasioned before those difficult points are ascertained, has often long detained the coffins of the rich

Departure  
from Pekin.

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Departure  
from Pekin.

from their last repository ; many are seen in houses and gardens under temporary roofs to preserve them, in the mean time, from the weather ; but necessity forces the poor to overcome many of their scruples in this respect, and to deposite at once, and with little ceremony, the remains of their relations in their final abode.

However different be the sentiment which agitates the mind in the event of marriage, the celebration of it, ostentatious, indeed, and expensive, is yet inferior to that of funerals in the same rank of life. Its pomp was probably in the origin, suggested by the parents of the parties. They naturally wished to give dignity to a union of their choice. They wished to mark it with a solemnity tending to render the tie more sacred and more durable. But the impulse which unites the sexes, did not require the aid of public festivals. Mystery serves, on the contrary, to fan its flames, and is preferred for the solemnization of its rites.

Tho celibacy in either sex is not deemed a virtue by the Chinese, and constancy the only sort of chastity they recommend, yet the rules of exterior decency are guarded by the manners and sentiments of all persons of education and refinement. Whatever similitude may be observed between the paganism of China and that of its neighbour Hindostan, the former seems not to have borrowed from the latter, any of the obscene postures carved sometimes, as part of the original design, even on



the outside of Indian temples. One of the gentlemen of the Embassy had leisure, indeed, to examine a small open temple on one side of the causeway in returning now from Peking, which in the hurry of approaching to that capital he had overlooked. The figure he found in it, he conjectured to be intended to represent the

Departure  
from Peking.



Tong-choo-foo.

lingam of the Hindoos, or heathen god of gardens. It was, however, only a simple short column supported upon the back of a rudely sculptured animal of the lizard kind, as appears by the preceding engraving, and the column was in all likelihood, meant merely to bear a monumental inscription in Chinese characters, which filled one face of it almost entirely. If, from the loose expressions familiarly introduced by some of the most elegant writers in antiquity, and from the indecent images discovered among ancient buildings, as for example, at Pompeia, as well as from some remains of obscene worship, in an obscure part of the same country, and the shameless practice of some distant savage tribes, it be inferred that decency is not a strong, innate, and necessary sentiment of nature, it must be acknowledged, that it is at least a happy artifice of society, not indeed precluding vice, but covering its exterior turpitude, and adding refinement and delicacy to natural enjoyments. And in this species of factitious virtue, the Chinese have preceded, as well as surpassed, most other nations.

On the arrival of the Embassy at Tong-choo-foo, it was cheerfully received at the temple which had been, for a few days, its former residence ; and was prepared a second time for its accommodation. The principal mandarines waited upon the Ambassador from Tong-choo-foo, which was illuminated in the evening with lights in decorated lanterns. Troops were already drawn



out before the temple in various uniforms, some of them fanciful indeed and picturesque, but apparently, at least, more suitable for the stage than a field of battle. Quilted petticoats and jackets, and satin boots with thick soles of paper, have a mixture of clumsiness and effeminacy, seemingly little calculated for a military life; but this holy mansion was sufficiently safe, under the more powerful protection of the *Men-shin*, or guardian spirit of the place, of which the effigy, painted upon the outer gate, was supposed effectually to prevent the opposite spirit of evil from entering within it. Drawings of the same kind are, indeed, with a similar intention, pasted on the outer and inner doors of most of the private dwellings of the Chinese. The common people, conscious of the numerous ills to which they are liable, are disposed to seek for safeguards on every side. Their minds being once open to credulity, are ready to accept any supernatural assistance, offered to them by a new religion, against the violence of power, or the calamities of nature. Their own has nothing exclusive in it; and they would have embraced Christianity in greater numbers, if it could have been associated with other tenets. The Jesuits, who were desirous of permitting with it the ceremonies performed by the Chinese in the halls of their ancestors, would have been much more successful than their opponents who condemned them; to whom the principal subject of reproach from a pagan of China at

Tong-choo-  
foo.

Tong choo-  
foo.

present is, that “ they neglect their forefathers.” The offerings from flocks and herds, and likewise of fowls, of oil, salt, flour, and incense, mentioned in the Levitical law, are known and observed by the Chinese. They have their Lares and Penates like the Romans, and, in their observance and offerings on every new moon, recall the expression of the Latin poet :

“ *Coelo supinas si tuleris manus nascente luna.*”

With such a liberal disposition of mind towards all religions, it was not surprising that a priest of another sect should have been a visitor at this time at the temple of Fo. He was a disciple of Lao-koun, whose original doctrines differed little from those of Epicurus. He maintained, that to live happily should be the chief object of man ; and that indifference to events, was one of the principal means of attaining that end ; that it was vain to reflect much upon the past, or to be solicitous about the future : the wisest occupation being to enjoy the fleeting moments as they pass. To such abstract maxims, which, were they true, could be scarcely practicable, the priests found themselves obliged, in order to have a hold upon the people, to add various practices and pretensions of a tendency directly contrary ; such as the power of predicting events, and divers precautions against evil. These priests had their followers and their temples, and were known by exterior distinctions in their dress ; but in other respects they were united with



all other superstitions, against the simple and natural religion or moral reason of Confucius. Besides the deities formerly described in the temple of Tong-choo-foo, were observable, those of Peace and War, of Temperance and Voluptuousness, of Mirth and Melancholy, with female images of Fruitfulness and Pleasure. Before them were placed one or more bronze vessels in which the priests and devotees burn perfumed matches, and tinfoil paper. The annexed engraving of one of those bronze

Tong-choo-foo.



Tong-choo-foo.

vessels, shows that it could never have been intended for human, or indeed any animal sacrifices, as has been erroneously conjectured.

While the gentlemen of the Embassy were, for the last time, examining the temple and visiting the city of Tong-choo-foo, their attendants, Chinese and English, were engaged in preparing all things for embarkation. The yachts were ready at the water side; and the Ambassador had the satisfaction of observing the same care and attention exerted in providing for his accommodation and that of his suite, down the river, which he had experienced in ascending it. As the presents made by his Imperial Majesty, were not of a nature to be so cumbersome, in the package, as those which had been brought to him, it took but little time to embark the whole baggage in the proper vessels. One vessel was taken up with the several parts, taken asunder, of his Excellency's carriages. One of them was an elegant state chariot, which, when he first understood that it was usual to make some offering to his Imperial Majesty on his own behalf, he intended for that purpose; and he inserted it accordingly in the list he delivered to the mandarines. Finding afterwards the propriety of presenting something with his own hands, he chose a pair of watches enriched with diamonds. The chariot was, however, already at Yuen-min-yuen, which when the Emperor found out, he sent back with a civil message, as not



accepting presents twice from any private hand. The Embassy was not detained above a day at Tong-choo-foo. The waters, indeed, of the Pei-ho were already low, and continuing to decrease. In a few days more, they were likely to be too shallow to float the yachts; and it would have been equally uncomfortable to travel by land, or in small or open boats.

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The yachts, now used, were of a construction as light as possible, consistently with the convenience of the passengers. They had no upper range of apartments for the people, and admitted very little baggage below the floor. They were about seventy feet in length, and fifteen in width, flat-bottomed, and drawing scarcely ten inches water. Notwithstanding which, they were dragged by main strength over some shallows in the river, on the second day of the Embassy's embarking on it. Beside the cause of the diminution of the river, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, another not so constant, contributed in this season towards it. The weather had been remarkably dry for some months past, not above a shower or two had fallen to supply the loss by evaporation since the month of July. From that period it was rare to see a cloud. The time of harvest is so little subject here to rain, that the corn is frequently thrashed, or the straw separated from the grain, upon an open floor in the middle of the field in which it had been reaped. The thermometer of Fahrenheit, which in

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August was seldom under eighty-four, was now sometimes down to fifty. The fields which had then been mostly covered with the kow-leang or lofty corn, exhibited now a crop of other species of millet. Its shorter stems interrupted less the prospect, which, as the travellers receded from the hills lying to the westward of Peking, was chiefly that of a level and fertile country, full of culture and of villages.

The Embassy had made very little progress, when Vanta-Zhin came to inform the Ambassador, that the Colao Sun-ta-Zhin had just received a letter from the Emperor, of which he wished to communicate to him the contents. His Excellency perceived, at the same time, Sun-ta-Zhin's yacht approaching very fast to his. The Ambassador determined to spare him the trouble of quitting his own vessel, and waited upon him immediately; and began by reminding this new companion of his travels, of civilities received from him at Poo-ta-la, and the gardens of Zhe-hol; for which his Excellency renewed his acknowledgments; and then mentioned the happiness he felt at Sun-ta-Zhin's appointment to do him the honour of accompanying him in the present journey. That Colao received the Ambassador with every mark of consideration, and expressed the highest satisfaction at having been chosen upon the present occasion. He then read some part of the Emperor's letter, the purport of which was, that "he (Sun-ta-Zhin) should take the Embassy under his



“ particular care, that every proper distinction should be  
“ shewn, and attention paid to the Ambassador and his  
“ suite in their route to Chu-san, and to see them safely  
“ embarked on board their ships ; but that if those ships  
“ should be sailed from thence, to proceed in the same  
“ manner, and for the like purpose, to Canton.” It was  
natural to suppose, that he would not communicate his  
private instructions, contained possibly in the same dis-  
patch ; but he said enough to show that his Excellency’s  
letter to Sir Erasmus Gower to wait for the Embassy at  
Chu-san, had not been forwarded to him. The letter had  
been delivered open, written in the English language, to  
the Minister. The latter could find no person at Pekin  
not belonging to the Embassy, who could translate it for  
him. Tho every circumstance rendered it probable, that  
the contents of that letter were such as the Ambassador  
had stated to him ; and that it was difficult to divine  
what improper intelligence could at that period be con-  
veyed, or dangerous direction given, to Sir Erasmus  
Gower ; yet such were the suspicions of that Colao, in  
relation to it, that he had hitherto kept it back. Sun-ta-  
Zhin was, however, soon convinced of the genuine ex-  
planation which the Ambassador gave him of the letter,  
as well as of the necessity of its dispatch ; and under-  
took to write to his Imperial Majesty, to have it for-  
warded without any further delay. Soon afterwards,  
his Excellency took leave and went back to his yacht,

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where, in half an hour, Sun-ta-Zhin returned his visit. The conversation here became less formal ; finding, in the course of it, that the Ambassador's residence had continued for three years in Russia, he appeared at a loss to guess what public business he could have occasion to transact there during so long a period. His surprise led to an explanation of the customs of European nations with regard to their mutual intercourse, for which purpose the respective sovereigns usually kept ambassadors habitually residing at each other's courts ; by whose means reciprocal friendship was maintained, and jealousies, likely otherwise to arise from accidental misunderstandings, were effectually prevented.

Sun-ta-Zhin seemed no less actuated by personal curiosity in his questions, than by the desire of communicating to the Emperor every information relative to the English, and other nations of Europe trading to China, which he could collect in his conversation with the Ambassador. It was apparent how much the Embassy occupied the attention of his Imperial Majesty, from the daily correspondence he held concerning it. And his Excellency easily perceived that he was advancing more in the real object of his mission, that of removing the prejudices of the Chinese government against the English, by conversing in fact familiarly through so liberal a channel with his Imperial Majesty, than his constrained intercourse had permitted during his residence at court.



Those mutual visits were repeated frequently. The respective yachts, upon a signal, approached, and grappling each other, the parties stepped at once from one vessel to the other. Often at their meetings, Sun-ta-Zhin read paragraphs taken from the Emperor's dispatches to him, containing some gracious expressions towards his Excellency and those of his suite, occasioned by the reports he had made of their conduct and disposition. The picture probably given of their manners by the former Legate, having been once discovered by Sun-ta-Zhin to be distorted and unjust, the disgust he felt at such a misrepresentation, was sufficient to incline a mind like his, to be, at least, as favourable in the accounts he transmitted of them, as could be consistent with his own observation and opinion. Beside the natural liberality of his disposition, his taste for literature contributed, no doubt, to correct any narrow or national prejudice which he might originally have imbibed from the nature of his education, and the maxims and opinions of those with whom he lived. He was stored with whatever knowledge Chinese or Manchoo-Tartar books could furnish. He was the only mandarine, among those whom the Ambassador had an opportunity of knowing, who travelled with a library. He was courteous in his manners; tho he still thought it necessary to be tenacious of the privileges attached to the rank he filled. He was not only a Colao, but was honoured with the yellow mantle

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covering, like a spencer, his other garments. Such a mantle is the highest distinction at present known in China; and imprints, as it were, somewhat of a sacred character on the wearer. The order of the clergy at Zhehol, to whom nothing could communicate respect while, to ignorance and poverty they added meanness and irregularity of conduct, derive no credit from being clad entirely in that colour; but a part only procures for a layman, the awe and consideration of all ranks.

Chow-ta-Zhin and Van-ta-Zhin, tho enjoying the appellation of *great men*, avoided meeting the Ambassador in his visits to Sun-ta-Zhin, as they should be obliged to stand in his presence; and the interpreter once venturing to sit down before him, was called quickly by him to his duty. The inferior mandarines and guards attendant upon the Embassy, no longer attempted, as when under the direction of the Legate, to constrain the gentlemen of the Embassy in their excursions upon shore. The latter took care themselves neither to act indiscreetly, nor to delay the progress of the yachts. The country from Tong-choo-foo as far as Tien-sing, was, indeed, not new to them; tho the difference of the season and the culture, had altered in some degree its aspect. The fields were parched by the long continuance of the drought; but, as in many places the bed of the river had been raised above the adjoining grounds, by the gradual accumulation of soil upon its bottom, and by



the accession of new mounds to prevent its inundation, those grounds were watered with little difficulty or labour, through sluices made from it as from an elevated canal. Where the river was upon a level with the adjacent country, a more operose method of irrigation was sometimes practised by the neighbouring cultivators. Two of them stood opposite to each other on two projecting banks, holding ropes fixed to a basket, which swinging to and fro for a considerable time, they gave it

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a velocity that assisted in throwing the water into a reservoir dug near the river's bank ; from whence it was communicated, where wanted, by small channels. Sometimes a long pole unequally divided in its length, is made to turn on a pivot across an upright post. A bucket fixed to the end of the shorter lever, is easily lowered into the river, and which, when filled, a small power, applied to the extremity of the longer lever, will be sufficient to raise and pour its contents into the reservoir, notwithstanding the weight of water. Both these methods are sketched in the engraving on the preceding page.

The inhabitants along the Pei-ho bore strong marks of poverty in their dwellings and apparel; but their general cheerfulness testified that they were not pinched for the absolute necessities of life ; and that they did not consider their condition as the consequence of any particular act of injustice done them ; under a sense of which, men are seldom tranquil. Nor was their poverty owing to the barrenness of their lands, which their industry fertilized ; but human population was too crowded to admit such a portion of ground to each family as could supply all the comforts of life. Little of it was reserved for rearing other animals, from a conviction, no doubt, of what is asserted to be true by Adam Smith, that “ a corn field of moderate fertility, produces a much  
“ greater quantity of food for man, than the best pas-  
“ ture of equal extent ; for tho its cultivation requires



“ much more labour, yet the surplus that remains after replacing the seed, and maintaining all that labour, is likewise much greater.” On some small spots a few sheep are fed. A much greater number are brought from Tartary, as well as larger cattle. Such of the latter as are kept in China, have scarcely any other provender than the straw of corn cut small like chaff. A very scanty proportion of animal food serves as a relish to the vegetable diet of the common people. Milk, cheese, and butter, the principal resources of pastoral life, are little known to the Chinese; and when it was found that the gentlemen of the Embassy wished to be supplied with the first of those articles, it was necessary to take some pains to find out a person who understood the management of cows; and who, with two of those animals, were put into a barge, with proper nourishment, in order to accompany the yachts upon the water.

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At this season, much of the crop of *kow-leang* was already off the ground. The first operation afterwards, of the husbandmen, is to dig up the roots with hoes; and, as in all undertakings, the Chinese are strictly methodical, and practically feel the advantages accruing from the division of labour, the task is performed agreeably to the following regular arrangement. One man advances in a straight line, and strikes up a row of stubble on each side of him with his hoe. A second follows to beat off the earth that adheres to them, and lays them afterwards in little

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bundles; while a third breaks up the ground between the rows. A single buffaloe is found then sufficient to draw the plough through it. The bundles of stubble are sometimes burnt upon the ground, and the ashes strewed over the surface. Sometimes when fuel is scarce, they are carried home and used for that purpose.

The ground being in a constant state of tillage, ploughs of the most simple construction are found adequate to every purpose required from such an instrument. Where the ground is particularly light, men and women yoked to the plough, are able to draw it through the soil. A coulter is unnecessary to such a plough, as there is no turf to cut through. The share that opens the ground terminates in a curve, which answers the purpose of a mould-board to turn back the earth. This part is sometimes made of iron, and frequently of that timber, which, on account of its hardness, is called iron wood. The opposite engraving exhibits a figure of this simple machine.

In three days the yachts arrived at the spot where they met the tide; the ebb of which, aiding the current of the river, brought them in another day to Tien-sing. Here the Legate, who had hitherto travelled with the Embassy, but who being awed by the presence of Sun-ta-Zhin, assumed no authority in the conduct of it, finally parted from it, or rather disappeared without taking leave, or putting himself in the way of receiving

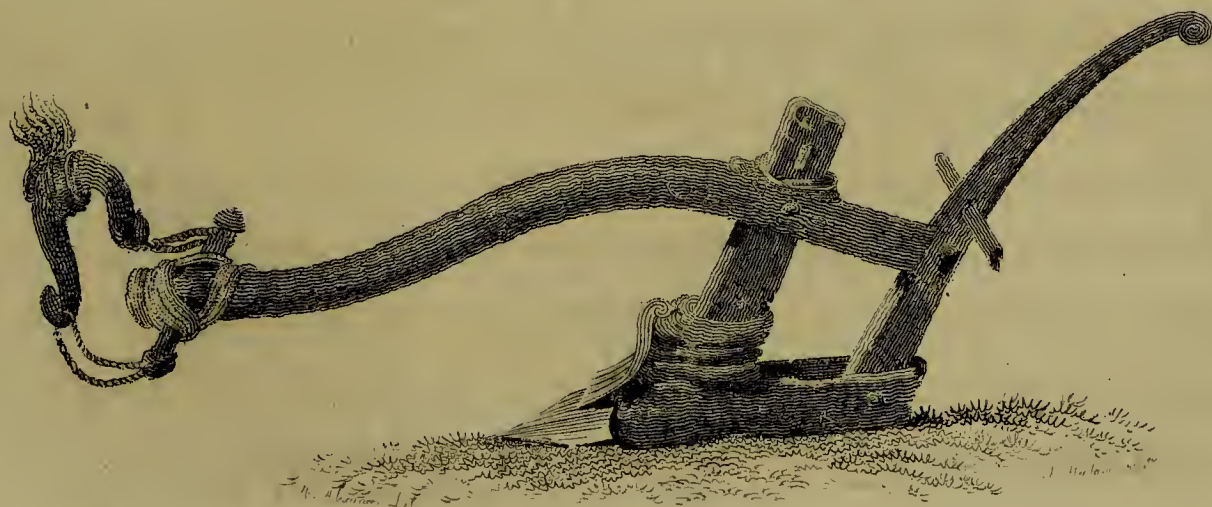


from those who belonged to it, any acknowledgments for services which he was conscious he had not rendered.

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Here too, the Embassy entered upon a new route. Instead of proceeding upon the lower branch of the Pei-ho to the sea, they turned to the right and to the southward; and passing by the mouth of the river When-ho, which, like the Pei-ho, flows from the hills of Tartary, and falls into the great bason at Tien-sing; they spent three hours in getting through the multitude of junks which were lying on it; and ascended the river already mentioned of Yun-leang-ho, upon the margins of which, the suburbs of the *heavenly city* extended for a considerable way. Upon its banks was erected a temporary building, for the reception of the Ambassador, with a decorated landing place, and a triumphal gate-



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way ; and an entertainment of confectionary and fruits was provided for him. The crowds of spectators were as great as when he first passed through Tien-sing.

Behind the city and suburbs extends a sandy plain, as far as the eye could reach, covered with small tombs, of which the number was incalculable. It was the public burying ground of which the limits were so wide, owing to that respect paid to the dead by the Chinese, which prevents them from opening a new grave upon any spot where the traces of a former one remained upon the surface.

The stream of the Yun-leang-ho, which likewise bears the name of Eu-ho or precious river, was confined near Tien-sing between two artificial banks thrown up to a considerable height, and sloped down to the water's edge in the manner of a glacis. The tops were converted into fine gravel-walks, shaded for many miles by rows of large willow trees, high poplars, and the quaking asp, interspersed with others bearing fruit, particularly of the plum kind. Along those banks, the country appeared cultivated as a garden, producing chiefly culinary vegetables.

The stream was here so strong, that it required, to stem it, eighteen or twenty trackers to each yacht ; nor could their progress often exceed a mile an hour ; but the beauty of the scene made some amends for the slowness of the motion. In other places the river widened to



about eighty feet; and the current of the stream was more easily overcome

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It was a tradition prevalent among the sailors upon this river, and the inhabitants upon its shores, that its depth and width were once vastly greater than at present: a large branch from the Yellow river then falling through that channel into the wide bason of Tien-sing; whereas the whole of the great river now falls into the Yellow sea, at a distance of more than an hundred miles.

At every interval of a few miles, are military posts, at each of which soldiers are stationed to protect the internal commerce of the provinces, as well as travellers, from pirates and robbers. A Chinese soldier wears his sword on the left side, but with the point bending forwards; and he draws it with the right hand turned behind him. A view of a military post is seen in plate 17 of the folio volume.

The soil hereabouts is sandy, and in appearance dry; but it cannot be dug beyond a foot in depth, without finding water in abundance. Canals of different sizes are seen at short distances, either falling into the river, or branching from it into the country.

A remarkable difference took place hereabouts, between the height of the thermometer in the night, and that which was observed in the middle of the day. Sometimes it stood little above forty of Fahrenheit's scale

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at sun-rise, and approached by noon to eighty. Those vicissitudes began to affect the health of some persons of the Embassy; tho the illness of a few of the guard was, perhaps, chiefly owing to repletion and want of exercise.

In passing by some villages, several women were seen at their doors with rocks and reels employed in spinning cotton. Some also assisted in the harvest, who were little to be distinguished from the men, by any delicacy of features or complexion. “ The general character of the “ persons of those women,” according to the observation of Mr. Hickey, who, in the course of his profession, had particularly studied the human form, “ was the reverse of what is generally considered as elegant or “ beautiful. Their heads were large and round, and “ their stature low, apparently not above six lengths “ of the head. Their shape was wholly concealed “ from the neck downwards by loose dresses; they “ wore wide trousers from the waist to the small of the “ leg; and their feet and ankles were wrapped round “ with bandages.” Those of a more elegant form were probably not employed in these rude labours. And a custom which is said to subsist in China, must render beauty rare in the lower classes of life. It is assured, that the young maidens distinguished by their faces or their figure, are taken or purchased from their parents at the age of fourteen, for the use of the powerful and opulent.



Accident had thrown a few of these within view of the gentlemen of the Embassy; who considered them, from the fairness and delicacy of their complexions, and the beauty and regularity of their features, as entitled to admiration. Some of those who did not appear indiscriminately abroad, but whom curiosity impelled to quit their houses to see the extraordinary strangers pass, were sometimes hooted back by Chinese of the other sex, as if reproaching them for exposing themselves to the sight of the barbarians.

Mr. Hickey, to the circumstance of small eyes, attributed generally to the Chinese of both sexes, adds, that  
“most of the men had blunt noses turned upwards,  
“high cheek bones, and large lips, with complexions  
“dark and muddy. Their hair was universally black,  
“and so thick and strong that, comparatively, they  
“liken the hair of Europeans to the pile or fur of the  
“smaller animals. The Chinese often wear whiskers,  
“and encourage the growth of a beard upon the chin,  
“which is suffered to descend in straight lines.”

At this season of harvest, an active cheerfulness seemed to pervade both sexes. They appeared to be sensible of labouring for their own profit. Many of the peasants are owners of the land they cultivate. There are no great and speculative farmers, aiming at monopoly or combination in the disposal of their produce, and overwhelming with their wealth the poorer husbandmen,

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till they reduce them at length to mere daily labourers. The advantages resulting from the neighbourhood of the river, become some consolation for the occasional oppression of mandarines, in forcing occasionally the peasants, at low rates, into the service of government, for the purpose of tracking upon its banks the public barges passing on it.

The river meandered through a richly cultivated plain, whose bounds are marked only by the horizon. The kow-leang and other species of millet seemed still the principal articles of produce here, as upon the Peiho. The houses of almost every village are surrounded with a thick fence of the stems of the kow-leang, intended probably as a defence against the cold weather, now rapidly approaching, tho it was yet only in the middle of October.

Those villages are sometimes in size equal to a European city ; but none of them are of note among the Chinese, unless walled round, and comprehended in one of the three orders of their cities.

Tho the progress of the yachts against the stream was slow, half an hour seldom intervened without a town or village coming into sight. The walls of the village houses consisted mostly of indurated mud; or of masses of earth baked imperfectly in the sun, or moulded between planks into the shape of walls, and bound together with them, until it had acquired sufficient hardness to support a roof ; or of wicker-work, defended by a coating



of adhesive clay. The roofs were covered generally with straw, rarely with green turf. The apartments are divided by lattice-work hung with broad paper, containing either the figures of deities, or columns of moral sentences. A court or vacant space around the house, is inclosed with wattles, or the stems of the kow-leang: the whole marked with an arrangement and neatness, implying the attentive industry of the occupiers, and sufficient to reconcile the beholders to the rudeness of the materials with which those dwellings were constructed.

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The towns were surrounded with walls for the most part higher than the roofs of the houses they inclosed. The walls formed generally a square, and faced the four cardinal points. The gates were distinguished by the names of east, west, north, or south gate, according to the fact, engraved in stone over the entrance. The streets were for the most part narrow, nor were within the walls any wide openings or squares. Large edifices were few, and consecrated to public uses, or the residence of the principal persons in authority. The sumptuary laws of China regulate the dwellings, as well as the apparel, of the opulent. It is a maxim of that state, far from being universally allowed elsewhere, that the more spacious the apartments of the rich, the more confined must be the cabins of the poor; and the more splendid the establishments of the former, the more

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miserable will be the condition of the latter, as the more labour is consumed in supplying the superfluities, the less remains for obtaining the necessities, of life. The houses were in general of simple construction, and in height one story. The foundations were of freestone or granite, drawn from the nearest mountains. The walls were generally built of bricks, of an earth selected with care, and burnt with culm or wood, in close kilns or ovens, as are the tiles which cover the roofs, in rows alternately concave and convex, and forming ridges and furrows, luted by a cement of clay. The timber used in building, is chiefly the larch fir, which is planted in situations on the mountains too cold or steep for other culture. The windows are small, and are of paper instead of glass. Very little iron is used, scarcely even a nail, in any of their buildings. The floors are not of planks, but of marble flags, or indurated earth. In elegant and public structures, a range of columns made of the entire trunks of the same kind of fir, run parallel to the outside walls, between which and the columns a gallery is thus formed. The body of the roof, in that case, rests upon the walls, and its projecting part only upon the columns. In particular buildings, the roofs are sometimes double or treble, at the distance of a few feet one above the other. All public buildings, and most palaces, have their chief doors and windows to the south. The principal edifices are a hall of audience, in which complaints are heard, and justice



administered ; a college for students, in which they are solemnly examined for degrees ; temples for public worship of divers sects ; granaries, in order to be provided against famine ; and a public library. The ordinary houses advance to the streets without columns ; instead of which, such as have shops hang out two tall poles, painted and gilt, and crossed with boards, to inform the lettered passenger, in large golden characters, and the unlearned, by figurative allusions, of the articles with which he might be supplied. Withinside, the ornaments are few, and the furniture simple. Everything of wood is painted red and varnished. The main streets, and part of the suburbs of these towns, exhibited the agitation and activity of commerce, partly occasioned by the proximity of the river, on which trading vessels were continually passing. Many also lay at anchor before the villages as well as towns.

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Plate 38 of the folio volume, is a view of the suburbs of a Chinese city. The double-roofed edifice on the right-hand side, is a temple of religious worship. The small building on four poles, to be ascended by a ladder, is a look-out house, one of which is erected at almost every military post ; and that with a gateway through it, serves as a repository for arms, clothes, and other military stores. The method of fishing with a net stretched out by four pieces of bamboo, and suspended by a long pole, as in the hands of the figure sitting on the bank

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of the river, in the fore ground, is a common practice throughout the empire.

Each town is supposed to be under the protection of certain stars or constellations, of which last the Chinese reckon twenty-eight; but they have, beside, a division of the stars answering to the signs of the zodiac, and which they call the twelve mansions of the sun. In a sky so clear as that which they enjoy, it is not suprising that, from the first dawn of civilized society, when as yet the fewer combinations of civil life, and a smaller population, gave less occupation to every individual; and sufficient subsistence was to be obtained with less pains of culture, he should employ some portion of his time in contemplating the brilliant luminaries above him. The Chinese did not borrow their knowledge of them from other nations, as appears from the names by which they are distinguished amongst them, and which bear analogy to customs and events in their own country. On some of their ancient coins are to be found the characters denoting the mansions of the sun. By dint of observation, they came to know in a little time the true number of days in a solar year, as well as other periods and phenomena of the heavens; but they quickly fell into the delusions of astrology, the magnificent prophecies and promises of which destroyed the taste for the patient labours and sober science of astronomy. Their astrologers pretend to foretell, and publish annually in



almanacks, as do, indeed, those of Europe, every variation of the weather in the several seasons of the succeeding year; but the former mark, besides, the lucky and unlucky days for every possible human undertaking. The attachment of the people to such notions, is confirmed by every accidental coincidence of the prediction with the event; while the frequency of disappointment is considered as arguing only the ignorance of the practitioner, not the fallibility of the art. New and many oracles are consulted, in hope they may agree. And thus, what ought to put an end to the credulity of dupes to such impostures, serves only to increase the business of those who carry them on. It is the source of much emolument to them, as it is of expence and anxiety to their employers. It operates as a voluntary tax upon superstition.

No legal tax is imposed in China on the score of religion. Ceremonies are ordained by it, in the performance of which some time is necessarily consumed, and sacrifices are required, which occasion expence, on the new and full moon; and in spring and autumn; and likewise in the beginning of the year. On the latter occasion, particularly, much dissipation takes place. Some good also is effected. Acquaintances renew their suspended intercourse; friends offended are reconciled; every thing dates as from a new era. The poorest cottager looks forward and prepares, during the preceding months, for an interval, however brief, of enjoying life,

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after having so long dragged on laboriously the burden of it; but, in the mean time, there are no fixed days or stated periods set apart to rest from labour. It must be concluded, that the habitual exertions of the people do not require relaxation frequently.

The Chinese are, perhaps, upon an average, better able to support moderate labour with little intermission than many of the lower classes in Europe. They are bred in better and sounder habits; and continue longer under the direction of their parents. They are, for the most part, sober; they marry early; they are less exposed to the temptations of debauchery; they are less liable to contract diseases which corrupt the springs of life; their lives are more regular and uniform. It has been calculated, upon the authority of facts and observation, that notwithstanding the baneful luxuries in which the European rich indulge, and the disorders of repletion, inactivity, and vice, to which they are subject, the mean duration of their lives exceeds about ten years that of their inferiors, whom excessive fatigue had contributed to wear out before their time; whom poverty had deprived of the means of proportional comfort and subsistence; who are more exposed to the inclemencies of weather, and accidents of life; and less guarded against their effects, as well as more liable to disease, with less leisure or means for cure.

The Chinese have no Sunday, nor even such a division as a week. The temples are, however, open every



day for the visits of devotees. Persons of that description have, from time to time, made grants, tho to no great amount, for the maintenance of their clergy; but no lands are subject to ecclesiastical tithes. A land tax to government has been substituted, in the last reign, to a poll-tax, as better proportioned to the faculties of individuals. Most imports, and all luxuries, are likewise taxed; but the duty being added to the original price of the article, is seldom distinguished from it by the consumer. A transit duty is laid likewise on goods passing from one province to another. Each province in China which may be compared to an European kingdom, is noted, chiefly, for the production of some particular article, the conveyance of which, to supply the demand for it in the others, raises this duty to a considerable sum, and forms the great internal commerce of the empire. Presents from the tributaries and subjects of the Emperor, and the confiscations of opulent criminals, are not overlooked in enumerating the resources of the public treasury. Taxes, such as upon rice, are received in kind. The several species of grain, on which many of the poorer classes of the people principally subsist, are exempted from taxation; so is wheat, to which rice is always preferred by the Chinese.

Near San-choo, in this part of the journey, wheat was perceived growing, for the first time in China, by the present travellers. It was about two inches above the

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ground ; and, tho on a dry sandy soil, where no rain had fallen for the three preceding months, it looked remarkably well. It was very neatly sown in drills, or dibbled, according to the method used of late in some parts of England. That of scattering the seed by the hand, called broad-cast, which, on a very few accidental occasions only, is ever practised by the Chinese, has been found by them to be attended with a considerable loss of seed, as well as with a diminution of the crop, which, when such a method is used, is too apt to grow in some spots in clusters, while in others the ground is scarcely covered. The drill method serves likewise to employ the women and children of the cultivator, in an employment requiring little strength. A gentleman of the Embassy calculated, that the saving of the seed alone, in China, in this drill husbandry, which would be lost in that of broad-cast, would be sufficient to maintain all the European subjects of Great Britain.

The Chinese never divide their fields into ridges and furrows, but plant their grain on an even surface. Whatever may be gained by draining off the rain by furrows in land entirely flat, it is an error to suppose that any increase of crop can be obtained in consequence of increasing the surface of the soil by turning the ridges in a curve, since no more plants, which rise perpendicularly from the ground, can be produced upon the curve, than from its base ; and a loss is suffered also by the soil



taken for the formation of such ridges from the furrows; in which the plants, whether of grain or grass, are generally thin, poor, and drooping.

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The husbandman is not inattentive to the direction of the rows for setting or dibbling his grain, as may be, indeed, inferred from the solemn regulations made concerning the annual ceremony of the Emperor's act of husbandry in ploughing the ground. It is settled, that "he shall stand with his face turned towards the south, "and taking hold of the plough with his right hand, "he shall turn up a furrow in that direction." The best exposition, however, is likely to depend on local circumstances. In some parts of England it has been remarked, where the ridges of a field were turned east and west, and laid down for grass, that the side exposed to the southward was invariably more green, better covered, and the grass in a more advanced state, than on the northern face of the ridge. Perhaps, upon trial, the direction of north-west and south-east would be found there most eligible, as the keen and piercing winds that so much retard vegetation in Great Britain, scarcely ever blow from those quarters in the spring and summer months. The broad side of the outermost ridge being exposed to the north-east, from whence the cold and destructive winds proceed, would shelter, in great measure, the interior part of the crop; whereas, when the rows happen to lie open to that point of the compass,

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those piercing winds find out channels to pass through every part of the crop, affecting the roots as well as the stems of the growing corn.

Beside the wheat flour for making the soft bread or cakes, by the means of steam, as mentioned in a former chapter, much of it is used in forming the substance called in Europe vermicelli, much relished by the Chinese.

To each cottage is attached a small spot of ground for raising culinary vegetables ; and about each are a few hogs and poultry, particularly ducks. The carcasses of many of the latter are spread out, salted and dried, and sent in this state as an article of commerce to many of the great cities. The art of hatching ducklings by artificial heat, has long been familiarly practised by this people. They were not, indeed, taught by the ostrich leaving its eggs in the sand to be hatched by the sun, that bird not being known to be indigenous to China, but perhaps by the crocodile, small species of which are found in some of the southern rivers of the empire.

In this part of the country, near the fields of wheat, were several patches of buck-wheat now in full flower. The produce of this species of polygonum is applied to the same uses as other grain, and its flour is remarkably fine and white.

The gentlemen of the Embassy had in this tract, abundant leisure to make excursions upon land, as the boats were proceeding against the strong current of the



river, the course of which was to the north-east. A sufficient number of men were impressed by the mandarines to track the boats; but the pay allowed by government was not adequate to the labour, and many of them withdrew from the task whenever they found an opportunity of escaping unperceived. It often happened that a set of trackers were exchanged in the night, that fresh might be surprised and forced into the service. A superintendent, like a negro driver in the West Indies, marches generally behind them with a whip, to quicken their pace and prevent their desertion.

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On the eighteenth of October the Embassy entered the province of Shan-tung. All its provincial attendants were then changed for others destined to attend it to Han-choo-foo. Two cities were passed in the course of the afternoon. Before each, as indeed before every town upon the river, a great number of junks and barges was observed at anchor.

This being the day of the full moon, the whole night was employed in religious ceremonies. Guns firing almost continually; bands of noisy music; striking of some hundred loos; fire-works letting off; and perfumed matches burning, were continued without intermission from midnight till the rising of the sun.

The province, in this part of it, appears a perfect level on both sides of the river. Here were seen growing, together with wheat and millet, a few fields of

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tobacco, but more of the annual cotton plant. The latter forms much of the cultivation of this and the adjoining southern province of Kiang-nan; nor is it neglected in those places to the northward, where the pods can be carried to perfection before the severe frosts set in. It is not uncommon for the cultivator in those countries, to lop off the tops of the cotton leaves, in order to increase the number of pods, and hasten their production; in like manner as in the West Indies, experience has shewn that the flowers of the rose tree are accelerated and increased by whipping the branches of that shrub. A sufficient quantity of cotton is not produced in China for the consumption of the inhabitants, among the lower orders of which cotton is universally worn by both sexes. The importation of that article from Bombay is very considerable. It is sold at Canton for dollars, which, in the circle of commerce, are given for bills of exchange upon England; and the dollars returned to the Chinese merchants for the teas, silk, and porcelain, exported from thence for Europe. Adjoining to the fields of cotton, are others cultivated with indigo, with whose blue dye, the cottons used for the common people are universally coloured throughout the empire.

On the twenty-second of October, the yachts stopped before Lin-sin-choo, a city of the second order, near which stood a handsome pagoda of nine stories. These buildings are called by the natives, Ta, and are most



numerous in hilly parts of the country, upon the summits of which they are frequently erected. They are generally from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and sixty feet high, which is equal to four or five of their diameters at the base; and consist mostly of an unequal number, five, seven, or nine galleries or stories, diminishing as they rise, with as many projecting roofs. A view of the pagoda and neighbourhood of Lin-sin-choo, is exhibited in plate 33 of the folio volume.

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At Lin-sin-choo, the yachts quitted the Eu-ho, which, from its source on the westward, ran north-easterly to this place, and is here joined by the imperial or grand canal, which is carried in a line directly south. This enterprize, the greatest and most ancient of its kind, which was found to extend from hence to Han-choo-foo, in an irregular line of about five hundred miles, not only through heights and over vallies, but across rivers and lakes, must have either begun or ended at Lin-sin-choo; and it is possible that the Ta, or pagoda just mentioned, the low situation of which precludes the idea of its having been intended either as a watch-tower or an obelisk, the supposed usual purposes of such structures, may have been meant to commemorate either the undertaking or the accomplishment of this canal, as a work of no less genius than national utility.

This great work differs much from the canals of Europe, which are generally protracted in straight lines

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within narrow bounds, and without a current; whereas that of China is winding often in its course, of unequal and sometimes considerable width, and its waters are seldom stagnant.

The ground which intervened between the bed of this artificial river and that of the Eu-ho, was cut down to the depth of about thirty feet, in order to permit the waters of the former to flow with a gentle current into the latter. Their descent is afterwards checked occasionally by flood-gates thrown across the canal wherever they were judged to be necessary, which was seldom the case so near as within a mile of each other, the current of the water being slow in most places. This canal has no locks, like those of Europe. The flood-gates are simple in their construction, easily managed, and kept in repair at a trifling expence. They consist merely of a few planks let down separately one upon another, by grooves cut into the sides of the two solid abutments or piers of stone that project, one from each bank, leaving a space in the middle just wide enough to admit a passage for the largest vessels employed upon the canal. As few parts of it are entirely level, the use of those flood-gates, assisted by others cut through its banks, is to regulate the quantity of water in the canal. In plate 34 of the folio volume, are seen a plan and section of a Chinese flood-gate; and in plate 35 of the same volume, is a view of Chinese barges passing through a flood-gate on this canal.



Some skill is required to be exerted, in order to direct the barges through them without accident. For this purpose an immense oar projects from the bow of the vessel, by which one of the crew conducts her with the greatest nicety. Men are also stationed on each pier with fenders, made of skins stuffed with hair, to prevent the effect of the vessels striking immediately against the stone, in their quick passage through the gates.

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Light bridges of timber are thrown across those piers, which are easily withdrawn whenever vessels are about to pass underneath. The flood-gates are only opened at certain stated hours, when all the vessels collected near them in the interval, pass through them on paying a small toll, appropriated to the purposes of keeping in repair the flood-gates and banks of the canal. The loss of water occasioned by the opening of the flood-gates is not very considerable, the fall at each seldom being many inches; and which is soon supplied by streams conducted into the canal from the adjacent country on both sides. The fall is, however, sometimes above a foot, or two, when the distance between the flood-gates is considerable, or the current rapid. The canal was traced often in the beds of ancient rivers, which it resembled in the irregularity of its depth, the sinuosity of its course, and the breadth of its surface, where not narrowed by a flood-gate. Wherever the circumstances of the adjacent country admitted the water in the canal to be maintained

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in a proper quantity, without any material deficiency or excess, by means of sluices managed in its sides, for the purpose of influx or discharge, as was the case farther to the southward, few flood-gates were necessary to be constructed; nor were there any where met above half a dozen in a day.

Before the Embassy had gone far from Lin-sin-choo, an affecting accident happened, of which it was innocently the cause. Several thousands of people had crowded down to the bank of the canal from the neighbouring towns or villages, to see the strangers pass. A great number of the former had taken their stations on some large barges that were drawn up by the side of the canal. The projecting stern of one of these being overloaded by the crowd, broke down, with the wreck of which, several individuals unfortunately fell into the canal. The struggles and shrieks of those who were unable to swim, loud and violent as they were, did not appear to disturb the attention of such of the spectators as were safe, from the passing spectacle; or to call any boats to the assistance of those who were in danger of being drowned. A single boat rowed towards the wreck, but seemed more eager to pick up the hat of one of the unfortunate wretches, who was thus in peril of becoming a victim to his curiosity, than to save the person of him who had worn it. However binding the ties, and warm the affections between kindred, are in China, sen-



timents of general humanity were not sufficiently awake in the breasts of the multitude then assembled, to create alarm, and absorb every other attention in the desire of procuring instantaneous assistance to the distressed ; or to deter the most insensible from preferring, in so critical a moment, any paltry advantage to the preservation of a fellow creature.

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In the evening of the twenty-third of October, the yachts arrived at the city of Tong-whang-foo, part of the name of which seems to bear relation to the Yellow river, from which it now is distant, as if, in fact, in some of the former revolutions of that river, by art or accident, it had once approached that city.

Near its walls were ranged about three hundred soldiers, the usual number of men intended at every garrisoned town to salute the passage of the Embassy, this circumstance happened here when it was already dark. Each private carried with him a lantern in his hand, from whence the reflection of the lights through the different coloured muslins stretched in the lantern frames, produced a pleasing effect upon the water. When a town happens to spread upon both sides of the canal, there are soldiers ranged on each of its opposite banks. In some instances where the Ambassador was expected to land, the soldiers went, at the word of command, upon their knees to receive him. Such a sight to a travelled European, seemed like that of pilgrims praying for be-

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nediction. It is exhibited in plate 18 of the folio volume.

Hitherto, since the Embassy left Tien-sing, the whole of the country was a plain as extensive as the eye could reach, interspersed with towns, villages, and cottages, covered with cultivation; but not a single natural eminence to distinguish any part of it, nor was a stone of the smallest size to be found throughout the soil. It was a continuation of the low and level country of Pe-che-lee, produced, no doubt, by causes of a similar nature; and forming together a portion of the globe, differing in composition and appearance from most other parts of it.

Now, for the first time, were perceived rising grounds and a hilly country to the eastward. Soon afterwards the tops of blue mountains were visible from the southwest. The eastern province of Shan-tung bears the name, according to the signification of the characters which compose it, of Eastern mountains. Indeed a range of granite hills, situated east and west from the promontory opposite Corea, as noticed in a former chapter, and proceeding through the greatest length of the province towards Pe-che-lee, until it sinks into a low and level surface, forms the grand and conspicuous feature of Shan-tung. These solid substances, at least, must have existed from the first formation of the globe; and if ever they alone had constituted an island separated only by a narrow channel from the continent, that



channel must have been, in the lapse of time, filled up by the gradual deposition of earth carried from the tops and sides of those hills now left naked, and meeting with similar depositions on the other side, must have together formed the great and fertile plain which now exists there.

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On the twenty-fifth of October the yachts arrived at the highest part of the canal, being about two-fifths of its entire length. Here the river Luen, the largest by which the canal is fed, falls into it with a rapid stream in a line which is perpendicular to the course of the canal. A strong bulwark of stone supports the opposite western bank ; and the waters of the Luen striking with force against it, part of them follow the northern, and part the southern course of the canal. A circumstance which not being generally explained or understood, gave the appearance of wonder to an assertion, that if a bundle of sticks be thrown into that part of the river, they would soon separate and take opposite directions.

It is, no doubt, from this elevated surface, that the author of this canal saw, with the comprehensive eye of genius, the possibility of forming this important communication between the different parts of the Chinese empire, by measuring from thence the inclination of the ground to the north and south, and uniting the devious streams which descended from the heights on every side, into one great and useful channel ; prevent-

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ing by flood-gates occasionally dispersed upon it, any sudden and useless deperdition of its waters; and supplying the loss necessarily sustained, by opening such flood-gates for the passage of vessels through them, from the plentiful source of the Luen, situated higher than the highest part of it, and falling by proportionate divisions into its opposite branches. Near this spot is situated an elegant gilt temple, called Luen-whang-miaw, or the yellow temple of the river Luen.

The Embassy had not proceeded far on the southern branch of the canal, when they arrived in the vicinity of the place where the Leu-tze, or famed fishing bird of China, is bred, and instructed in the art and practice of supplying his owner with fish in great abundance. It is a species of the pelican, resembling the common corvorant, but which, on a specimen being submitted to Doctor Shaw, he has distinguished in the following terms: “brown pelican or corvorant, with white throat, “the body whitish beneath and spotted with brown; “the tail rounded; the irides blue; the bill yellow.” It is delineated in plate 37 of the folio volume.

On a large lake close to this part of the canal, and to the eastward of it, are thousands of small boats and rafts, built entirely for this species of fishery. On each boat or raft are ten or a dozen birds, which, at a signal from the owner, plunge into the water; and it is astonishing to see the enormous size of fish with which they return,



grasped within their bills. They appeared to be so well trained, that it did not require either ring or cord about their throats to prevent them from swallowing any portion of their prey, except what the master was pleased to return to them for encouragement and food. The boat used by these fishermen is of a remarkable light make, and is often carried to the lake, as appears in the engraving underneath, together with the fishing birds, by the men who are there to be supported by it.

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On the western side of this lake, is a high and thick embankment of earth, which separates it from the canal, the surface of whose waters is considerably higher than that of those which fill the lake. The quantity of earth for this embankment through the whole length of the



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lake, must have been indeed immense, and collected with vast labour and expence. These collections of earth were supported on each side by walls of stone; and to prevent the column of water in the canal from becoming too heavy for the embankment to support it, sluices are cut at certain distances, by which the superfluous water passes off, either immediately into the lake, or upon the low lands, and sometimes into ditches made into the middle of the embankment, to serve as reservoirs. This last contrivance seemed to imply some practical knowledge, at least, of hydrostatics. For the water in these ditches was generally kept at a mean height between the two surfaces of the canal and of the lake; or of the former and the low ground next to it; by which means the pressure against the two banks is divided, requiring less resisting power in either. The column of water in the reservoir counteracts a column of equal height in the canal, and the depth of water in the lake destroying all the pressure of that in the reservoir not above the surface of the lake. The circumstance also of leaving a ditch in the embankment, diminished the quantity of earth to be collected from afar; for it appears in the jesuits' maps of the country, through which the canal passes, that a vast proportion of it had consisted of lakes and morasses, several parts of which appear to have been since reclaimed, and are now, as well as the upper surface of the embankment, regularly cultivated.



Several hundred acres of the ground, which still is swampy, and surrounds the lake, are covered with the lien-wha, or *nymphaea nelumbo* of Linnæus, already mentioned in this volume. The Chinese have always held this plant in such high value, that at length they regarded it as sacred. That character, however, has not limited it to merely ornamental and useless purposes; for it is introduced among the articles of the table. Their ponds are generally covered with it, and exhibit a very beautiful appearance when in flower. The seeds are somewhat of the size and form of an acorn, and of a taste more delicate than that of almonds. They are fixed by the lower extremity into the flat surface of a substance formed into the shape of a broad inverted cone. The roots are sliced, and in the summer served with ice. They are also laid up in salt and vinegar for the winter.

From this root, the Egyptians are supposed to have prepared their colocasia; but the plant is now no longer found in that country: from which circumstance some naturalists infer, that it never was indigenous there; but cultivated by the inhabitants with extreme care. The ancient Romans made repeated efforts to raise it amongst them, from seeds brought out of Egypt; and the modern attempts to cultivate it in Europe, tho with the assistance of artificial heat, seldom have succeeded. In China it often grows spontaneously, and is cultivated in the

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open air with ease, both by the seed and by the root. The Chinese distinguish many varieties of this species of the nymphaea.

The canal which had hitherto been embanked only on one of its sides, was now so on both. It was a curious spectacle, tho not without modern examples upon a smaller scale, to see a vast body of water, forced up by human skill and industry, into a narrow channel, several yards above its former bed, and flowing along in that airy state, till it finds a corresponding level at a considerable distance. The earthen embankments in this part of the canal, were supported by retaining walls of coarse grey marble, cut into large blocks, and cemented together with a kind of mortar. Those walls were about twelve feet in thickness; and the large stones on the top were bound together with clamps of iron. The canal was here, in fact, an aqueduct much elevated above the adjoining country, which, wherever it was dry, was crowded with villages. The grounds beneath are inundated during a considerable part of the year, and were cultivated in rice, whose stems shot above the water. Much of the low grounds in the middle and southern provinces of the empire are appropriated to the culture of that grain. It constitutes, in fact, the principal part of the food of all those inhabitants, who are not so indigent as to be forced to subsist on other and cheaper kinds of grain. A great proportion of the surface of the country



is well adapted for the production of rice, which, from the time the seed is committed to the soil, till the plant approaches to maturity, requires to be immersed in a sheet of water. Many and great rivers run through the several provinces of China, the low grounds bordering on those rivers, are annually inundated, by which means is brought upon their surface a rich mud or mucilage that fertilizes the soil, in the same manner as Egypt receives its fecundative quality from the overflowing of the Nile. The periodical rains which fall near the sources of the Yellow and the Kiang rivers, not very far distant from those of the Ganges and the Burum-pooter, among the mountains bounding India to the north, and China to the west, often swell those rivers to a prodigious height, tho not a drop of rain should have fallen on the plains through which they afterwards flow.

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After the mud has lain some days upon the plains in China, preparations are made for planting them with rice. For this purpose, a small spot of ground is inclosed by a bank of clay; the earth is ploughed up; and an upright harrow with a row of wooden pins in the lower end, is drawn lightly over it by a buffalo. The grain which had previously been steeped in dung diluted with animal water, is then sown very thickly on it. A thin sheet of water is immediately brought over it, either by channels leading to the spot from a source above it, or

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when below it, by means of a chain pump, of which the use is as familiar as that of a hoe to every Chinese husbandman. In a few days the shoots appear above the water. In that interval, the remainder of the ground intended for cultivation, if stiff, is ploughed, the lumps broken by hoes, and the surface levelled by the harrow. As soon as the shoots have attained the height of six or seven inches, they are plucked up by the roots, the tops of the blades cut off, and each root is planted separately, sometimes in small furrows turned with the plough, and sometimes in holes made in rows by a drilling stick for that purpose. The roots are about half a foot asunder. Water is brought over them a second time, for the convenience of irrigation, and to regulate its proportion; the rice fields are subdivided by narrow ridges of clay, into small inclosures. Through a channel in each ridge, the water is conveyed at will to every subdivision of the field. As the rice approaches to maturity, the water, by evaporation and absorption, disappears entirely; and the crop, when ripe, covers dry ground. The first crop or harvest, in the southern provinces particularly, happens towards the end of May or beginning of June. The instrument for reaping, is a small sickle, dentated like a saw, and crooked. Neither carts nor cattle are used to carry the sheaves off from the spot where they were reaped; but they are placed regularly in frames, two of which, suspended at the extremities of a bamboo pole,



are carried across the shoulders of a man, to the place intended for disengaging the grain from the stems which had supported it. This operation is performed not only by a flail, as is customary in Europe, or by cattle treading the corn in the manner of other Orientalists, but sometimes also by striking it against a plank set upon its edge, or by beating it against the side of a large tub scolloped for that purpose; the back and sides being much higher than the front, to prevent the grain from being dispersed. After being winnowed it is carried to the granary.

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To remove the skin or husk of rice, a large strong earthen vessel, or hollow stone, in form somewhat like that which is used elsewhere for filtering water, is fixed firmly in the ground, and the grain, placed in it, is struck with a conical stone fixed to the extremity of a lever, and cleared, sometimes indeed imperfectly, from the husk. The stone is worked frequently by a person treading upon the end of the lever, as in the following engraving. The same object is attained also by passing the grain between two flat stones of a circular form, the upper of which turns round upon the other, but at such a distance from it as not to break the intermediate grain. The operation is performed on a larger scale, in mills turned by water; the axis of the wheel carrying several arms, which by striking upon the ends of levers, raise them in the same manner as appears to be done by the

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man's feet in the opposite engraving. Sometimes twenty of these levers are worked at once. The straw from which the grain has been disengaged is cut chiefly into chaff, to serve as provender for the very few cattle employed in Chinese husbandry.

The labour of the first crop being finished, the ground is immediately prepared for the reception of fresh seeds. The first operation undertaken, is that of pulling up the stubble, collecting it into small heaps, which are burnt and the ashes scattered upon the field. The former processes are afterwards renewed. The second crop is generally ripe late in October or early in November. The grain is treated as before; but the stubble is no longer burnt. It is turned under with the plough and left to putrefy in the earth. This, with the slime brought upon the ground by inundation, are the only manures usually employed in the culture of rice. Lands thus fertilized by the overflowing of the tide in the proximity of the sea, or of rivers, or canals, are not appropriated solely to the production of rice. They are found equally suitable for raising an excellent crop of sugar canes, with the precaution only of keeping off the water after the young canes appear above the surface.

Satisfied with two crops of rice or one of sugar in the year, the Chinese husbandman generally suffers the land to remain at rest till the following spring, when the same process is repeated. And thus, from generation to



generation, successive crops are raised from the same soil, without the least idea of any necessity to let the earth lie fallow or idle for a year.

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The great elevation of the canal, in the part of it over which the yachts were now passing, permitted through its banks, a number of sluices turned upon stone arches, to let off the superfluous water into the morasses close to it; but the situation which soon followed, was directly the reverse. There was no hill or sudden rise in the



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J. Pass sculp.

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appearance of the country, it was still a plain surface to the eye ; but it had gradually risen so much above its former level, that the canal was cut down twenty feet at least below the adjoining grounds.

The water lost in this part of it was made up by supplies from the extensive lake of Wee-chaung-hoo adjoining it, which divides the province of Shan-tung from that of Kiang-nan. The situation reminded the Ambassador of the great canal of Russia; with which he was well acquainted. This ran in like manner, at certain distances, parallel to the lake Ladoga, from which it was separated by vast earthen embankments, but was occasionally supplied from it.

The prospect of the lake of Wee-chaung-hoo, from the rising ground, was delightful in the morning at sun-rise; exhibiting to advantage its borders fringed with wood houses and pagodas on the sloping grounds behind, and the surface of the water almost covered with vessels crossing in different directions, and by all the various modes of navigation that poles, paddles, oars, and sails, could furnish. Fishing forms a considerable part of the occupation of the people upon this lake. Various methods were employed for that purpose, of which that by nets was perhaps the most general. Another method is more singular ; to one side of a boat a flat board, painted white, is fixed, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, the edge inclining towards the water. On moonlight



nights, the boat is so placed that the painted board is turned to the moon, from whence the rays of light striking on the whitened surface, give to it the appearance of moving water, on which the fish being tempted to leap as on their elements the boatmen raising with a string the board, turn the fish into the boat. Every successful method of catching fish is followed with avidity by the Chinese, to make up for the scarcity of the flesh of quadrupeds. Of the larger kind, the common people have little opportunity of ever tasting, unless of such as die by accident or disease. In such cases, the appetite of a Chinese surmounts all scruple ; whether it be an ox or camel, a sheep or ass, it is equally acceptable. This people know no distinction of clean and unclean meat. The Chinese can easily conceive the horror or disgust which a nation, subsisting constantly on a vegetable diet, must feel at first upon the proposal of destroying any sensitive being, for the purpose of gorging upon its vitals ; but when once reconciled to such a deed, they reckon the preference given to one species of animal before another, as little more than a matter of taste or fancy. Quadrupeds that can find some resources for subsistence about dwelling-houses, such as hogs and dogs, are the most common animal food, and are sold at the public markets.

Persons not so opulent as to be delicate, are sometimes found to ransack every department of nature to

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satisfy their appetites. And even the vermin that prey upon uncleanly persons, have been known to serve as a prey in their turn to them.

Water fowl are much sought after; and are taken upon the Wee-chaung-hoo lake by a particular device. Empty jars or gourds are suffered to float about upon the water, that such objects may become familiar to the birds. The fisherman then wades into the lake with one of those empty vessels upon his head, and walks gently towards a bird; and lifting up his arm, draws it down below the surface of the water without any disturbance or giving alarm to the rest, several of whom he treats in the same manner, until he fills the bag he had brought to hold his prey. The contrivance itself is not so singular, as it is that the same exactly should have occurred in the new continent, as Ulloa asserts, to the natives of Carthagená, upon the lake Cienega de Tesias.

Individuals often earn a livelihood in China by means which would not answer to be adopted on a larger scale, or with a view to acquire considerable profit. But such men have no conception of any thing beyond a moderate subsistence. The spirit of gain, by working on an extensive plan, and by new methods, for supplying multitudes with a particular article, is not prevalent among the Chinese, unless in large or maritime towns. Some there are, however, in almost every village, who seek to accumulate wealth by taking advantage of the wants of



the people round them. Shops for lending money upon pledges, are common every where. Very high interest upon loans is allowed by law. The practice of such loans implies certainly great improvidence in the multitude, or great uncertainty in the success of their pursuits. The facility of culture, and the abundance of the crops, when no calamity intervenes, enables them in many places to bear such burdens, tho often in a very impoverished condition.

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In some parts adjoining to the canal, the lakes and morasses rendered cultivation almost impracticable. Among these, wherever a dry spot was found, it was covered with mean mud cottages; the inhabitants of which supported themselves chiefly by fishing; and the neighbourhood of the canal enabled them to exchange a part of the fish they caught to supply their other wants.

Such uncultivated swamps were soon succeeded by a country, the face of which was beautifully diversified with rich plains, small knolls, and ranges of rising grounds, broken with an alternate succession of hills and vallies, in which well built villages were thickly interspersed. The population was crowded, and every spot was cultivated. Some fields were covered with the ricinus, from the kernels of whose fruit the castor, or palma Christi oil is extracted in the West Indies for medical purposes; but in China it is rendered esculent and palatable; and is

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seldom used in medicine. The greatest part of the land, however, was under cotton, of which the pods were now opening, and ready to be gathered. The canal widened hereabouts, flowing to the southward, in a current of upwards of two miles an hour. Several branches went off from the main trunk of the canal, on which, as well as on the distant lakes, several barges were seen sailing.

During the next stage, the canal was conducted again thro low grounds, subject to inundation, with lakes and morasses intervening. A few small and mean built villages, some willow trees and rice grounds made up the view; but soon afterwards, a continued chain of towns and handsome villages, an immense number of vessels of all kinds, and a most thronged population, announced the approach of the Yellow river, into which the canal falls with a gentle current to the southward. Several of the largest barges were waiting in this neighbourhood till the ensuing season, to convey the Imperial revenues to the capital. Others preferred also waiting at the same place as a kind of central point, with which every part of the empire had a regular communication, being consequently best adapted for the exchange of commodities.

On the second of November, the yachts arrived at that part of the canal where it forms a junction with the Yellow river, so called from the yellow mud suspended in it in such quantities, as to render it more



like diluted earth than water. Upon the nearest coast, as well, indeed, as on the opposite side, is a very extensive and populous town. The canal here is about three quarters of a mile in width, and forms an excellent harbour for shipping.

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This canal is not, nor indeed is any in China, a private concern, carried on at the expence, and for the profit of individuals; but is under the regulation and immediate inspection of the government, whose policy it is to maintain an easy communication between the several parts of the empire, as tending to promote the commerce and agriculture of the country, thereby increasing the revenues of the state and the comforts of the people.

The amazing velocity with which the Yellow river runs at the place where the yachts and barges of the Embassy were to cross it, rendered, according to the notions of the Chinese crews, a sacrifice necessary to the spirit of the river, in order to ensure a safe passage over it. For this purpose, the master, surrounded by the crew of the yacht, assembled upon the forecastle, and holding, as a victim, in his hand a cock, wrung off his head, which committing to the stream, he consecrated the vessel with the blood spouting from the body, by sprinkling it upon the deck, the masts, the anchor, and the doors of the apartments; and stuck upon them a few of the feathers of the bird. Several bowls of meat were then

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brought forward and ranged in a line across the deck. Before these were placed a cup of oil, one filled with tea, one with some ardent spirit, and a fourth with salt: The captain making at the time three profound inclinations of the body, with hands uplifted, and muttering a few words, as if of solicitation, to the Deity. The loo or brazen drum was beaten in the mean time forcibly; lighted matches were held towards heaven; papers, covered with tin or silver leaf, were burnt; and crackers fired off in great abundance, by the crew. The captain, afterwards, made libations to the river, by emptying into it from the vessel's prow, the several cups of liquids, and concluded with throwing in also that which held the salt. All the ceremonies being over, and the bowls of meat removed, the people feasted on it; and launched afterwards, with confidence, the yacht into the current. As soon as she had reached the opposite shore, the captain returned thanks to heaven, with three inclinations of the body.

Beside the daily offering and adoration at the altar erected on the left, or honourable side of the cabin in every Chinese vessel, the solemn sacrifices above described are made to obtain the benefit of a fair wind, or to avert any impending danger. The particular spot upon the forecastle, where the principal ceremonies are performed, is not willingly suffered to be occupied or defiled by any person on board.



For offering sacrifices to the troubled waters, in order to appease or render them propitious, it was, no doubt, with these men a sufficient motive that the same had been practised, on similar occasions, by their predecessors; but the origin of the custom is more obscure; nor does the nature of it argue much refinement in those amongst whom it first was introduced. Some considerations may lead, indeed, to a presumption that application for aid to beings that are invisible may have been founded on a common principle, wherever recourse has been had to it. As soon as one man had obtained, over many, a power without control, and that such power was equally felt, whether in his presence or in his absence, it was deemed expedient to endeavour at conciliating his good will by offerings of whatever was most likely to be gratifying to him. Thus the sovereign himself, or, in his absence, his palace, or his throne, or the principal dwelling of the place, was humbly approached with gifts, which he might be supposed to relish: such being the resource of the weak for obtaining the kindness, or averting the injustice, of the powerful. If he should be pleased with gold, the bowels of the earth were ransacked for it; if, as in the excesses to which princes and conquerors in the first ages were supposed to have been prone, he should delight in the riotous and sanguinary pleasures of the table, bloody sacrifices were prepared and offered at his altar.

As the moral events of life, affecting the happiness

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of the people, were known to depend upon the will of the sovereign, whose subjects in the distant part of his dominions felt, without seeing them, the weight of his authority; it was inferred, that physical events were directed likewise by a personified being, however invisible, whose favours were to be gained, and protection granted, by the same means which were practised in the moral conduct of the world.

Those means or offerings were sometimes made by a particular class of men, under the name of ministers of the altar, when much of the sacrifices that were offered were converted to their private use: and when the people themselves became the sacrificers, they, in like manner, after a formal offering to the invisible spirit, feasted on the sacrifices themselves, devoting only to the deity some minute but material part of it, such for example as the oil and salt. The natural quality of the former article, when much of it happened to be thrown upon agitated waters, to smooth immediately their surface, served as a confirmation of the supernatural power of the spirit that had been addressed, and of its satisfaction at the offering made to it; and salt is considered to be an essential relish to most kinds of food, which could not therefore fail, it was supposed, to be acceptable.

The Chinese appear to have been led, from the influence of the same causes, to coincide with other nations, in the nature of their offerings. When a fowl, for



example, was to be offered by the Jews, it was ordained by the Levitical law, that “ the priest should bring it unto  
 “ the altar, and wring off his head, and burn it on the  
 “ altar; and the blood thereof should be wrung out at  
 “ the side of the altar; and he should pluck away his  
 “ crop with the feathers, and cast it beside the altar.”  
 The same people were also commanded “ not to suffer  
 “ the salt of the covenant of their God to be lacking from  
 “ their meat offerings.”

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Profane, but classic writers, mention the use of oil and salt, as common in the sacrifices of the ancient Europeans. Virgil describes Æneas as pouring oil on the slaughtered victims,

“ Oleum fundens ardentibus extis;”

Ovid mentions in the oblations of the primitive Italians, the

——“ Puri lucida mica salis;”

and Horace, the

——“ Saliente mica;”

among the peace-offerings to the irritated Penates.

Together with those offerings, however, great exertions are found necessary to overcome the violence of the Yellow river, and to transport large yachts in safety to the opposite shore.

The wind was fair when those of the Embassy undertook it. They were towed by light sailing boats, and had the assistance of their own great sails and sculling

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oars. Some stemmed the stream without losing much ground ; while others were hurried by it with rapidity to a considerable distance below the opposite point, and were obliged to be tracked back with no little human labour, to the mouth of the canal for which they had steered.

The extent of the country through which the Yellow river flows, and the quantity of water it discharges into the sea, are little surpassed by any other in the old world. Mr. Barrow, whose journal as well as that of the Ambassador, has assisted this work much oftener than he is quoted, has attempted an estimation of the above two particulars. “ The sources of the Yellow river,” he says, “ are two lakes, situated amongst the mountains of “ that part of Tartary known by the name of Kokonor. “ They lie about the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and nineteen degrees of longitude to the westward of Peking. The river, after meandering through “ this division of Tartary, first in an eastern direction “ about two hundred and forty miles, then north-west “ about one hundred, and again easterly two hundred “ and fifty miles, a number of branches falling into it “ in that course, enters the province of Shen-see ; and “ thence running in a northerly direction parallel to the “ great wall, which it crosses in the thirty-ninth degree “ of latitude ; it enters into the country of the Ortoo Tartars, which it divides from the Mongoo Tartars, and



“ continuing in a northerly direction to the forty-first  
“ degree of latitude, makes a course to the northward of  
“ four hundred miles. Numberless tributary streams  
“ from the heights of Tartary, and those of Shen-see,  
“ flow into it from most points of the compass. Con-  
“ tinuing afterwards easterly two hundred miles, it again  
“ crosses the great wall, and taking a southern course  
“ for about double the last distance, dividing the pro-  
“ vinces of Shen-see and Shan-see, it enters Honan in the  
“ parallel from whence it sprung. From thence, after re-  
“ ceiving the waters of a great lake, and running through  
“ the northern part of the same province, and that of  
“ Kiang-nan, in a course due east five hundred and sixty  
“ miles, it discharges its immense volume into the sea, to  
“ which it gives a name. This circuit is fully equal to  
“ an extent of two thousand one hundred and fifty miles.  
“ The distance from the sea where it is crossed by the ca-  
“ nal, is not more than seventy miles. Its width little ex-  
“ ceeds a mile, and its depth in the middle of the stream,  
“ not more than nine or ten feet; yet, tho the country  
“ through which it passes in this place, be to all appear-  
“ ance a perfect plain, the water is carried through it  
“ with a velocity of seven or eight miles in every hour.  
“ The swiftness, indeed, of any stream, does not depend  
“ on the descent of the country through which it runs,  
“ in any particular part of it; but principally on the im-  
“ petus it receives towards its source, and also from the

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“ narrowness of the channels through which it had there  
“ been forced ; or the sudden increase of its volume im-  
“ pelled through the same channel ; as is proved by  
“ Major Rennell’s observations on the Ganges.

“ To avoid all possibility of exaggeration, let it be sup-  
“ posed that the breadth of the Yellow river where the  
“ Embassy passed it, was only three quarters of a mile,  
“ the mean depth five feet, and the velocity of its course  
“ four miles an hour. From thence it follows, that in  
“ every hour, there is discharged from that river into the  
“ Yellow sea, a volume of water equal to 418,176,000  
“ solid feet, or 2,563,000,000 gallons of water, or eleven  
“ hundred times as much as appears to be furnished by  
“ the Ganges.

“ In order to be able to form some idea of the quantity  
“ of mud suspended in the water of the Yellow river, the  
“ following experiment was made ; a gallon and three  
“ quarters, ale measure, taken out of the middle of the  
“ stream where it was running at the rate of seven or  
“ eight miles an hour, and at a depth of nine feet, de-  
“ posited a mass of matter, which, when compact and  
“ pressed into the form of a brick, was equal to two solid  
“ inches and a third. The sediment of which this mass  
“ consisted, was a fine loamy mud of a yellowish tinge,  
“ which when dry is reducible to an impalpable pow-  
“ der by rubbing it between the fingers. Martini ob-  
“ serving the uncommon apparent muddiness of the



“ Yellow river, and not aware how small a quantity of  
“ colouring matter is sufficient to tinge a large volume  
“ of water, estimated the mud of that river in the rainy  
“ season, to be one-third of the whole. Some travellers  
“ in Egypt, likewise considered the quantity of mud in  
“ the waters of the Nile at the time of its inundation, as  
“ composing one-twentieth of the volume of the fluid;  
“ but the more accurate Shaw, who evaporated a given  
“ quantity of water taken out of the Egyptian river,  
“ found that the residuum formed only an hundred and  
“ twentieth part of the original bulk.

“ According to the method now followed as to the wa-  
“ ter of the Yellow river, it appeared to contain of mud,  
“ but a two hundredth part of the original bulk. A con-  
“ siderable portion of the mud must have, indeed, been  
“ wasted, from the nature of the experiment. Accord-  
“ ing to this proportion, however, of mud suspended in  
“ the waters of the Yellow river, a quantity equal to  
“ 3,420,000,000 solid inches, or 2,000,000 of solid  
“ feet of earth is wafted to the sea in every hour; or  
“ 48,000,000 every day, or 17,520,000,000 in a year.  
“ Supposing the mean depth of the Yellow sea to be  
“ twenty fathoms, or one hundred and twenty feet, and  
“ it was seldom found to be so much, the quantity of earth  
“ brought down from the Yellow river, would, if accu-  
“ mulated together, be sufficient to fill up, even to the  
“ surface of the sea, an island one mile square in seventy

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“ days. By extending the calculation, a curious in-  
“ quirer may find in what space of time the Yellow sea  
“ itself might be filled by the successive depositions  
“ from the Yellow river alone; for, supposing that sea  
“ to extend northward from that river, and to include  
“ the gulfs of Pe-che-lee and Lea-tong, the number of  
“ square miles on the surface of this extent, would be  
“ about 125,000, which multiplied by the number  
“ (seventy) of days, necessary for consolidating one  
“ mile square, would make 8,750,000 days, or 24,000  
“ years.

“ This calculation, indeed, implies that the quantity  
“ of earth wafted by the Yellow river, always remains  
“ the same, which may not be the case; yet consider-  
“ ing the vast length of this river's course, the rapidity  
“ of its descent from the Tartarian mountains, sweeping  
“ before it whatever meets its stream, the frequent inun-  
“ dations which its increased volume and velocity, after  
“ heavy rains, occasion in the immense tract of low  
“ country, consisting of a soil of a loose texture, through  
“ which it passes, it is possible that an equal quantity  
“ of earth, as at present, will be borne down by it for a  
“ great number of ages yet to come.”

During the progress of the yachts towards the Yellow river, various letters passed between the Emperor and the present respectable conductor of the Embassy, on whose representation, the letter to Sir Erasmus Gower



which had been detained by Ho-choong-taung, was forwarded by his Imperial Majesty's express order to Chu-san. Sun-ta-Zhin quoted often out of the Imperial dispatches several expressions of kindness and attention towards the Ambassador. The latter was, indeed, privately informed those expressions were in consequence of the reports of the conduct and disposition of the Embassy, made to him by Sun-ta-Zhin, who declared, that from the most careful observation, he was convinced that the Ambassador really entertained no other views than those of procuring for his country advantages in trade, which the people of Europe considered as an object of the first importance, however trifling in the eyes of a Chinese statesman, or unworthy the trouble of so distant an expedition, merely for the purpose of promoting it; and adding, that he could perceive nothing in the sentiments or manners of the English, of which the communication could be productive of any mischief to the nation with which they might wish to maintain an intercourse.

The Emperor's gracious expressions were accompanied, sometimes, with presents of dried meats from his table, in the Eastern manner, by way of tokens of his personal regard. In reply to Sun-ta-Zhin's letters, his Imperial Majesty assured him, that " he entertained himself a high esteem for the Ambassador and his nation, " notwithstanding the various surmises that had been " made about them; and that he was determined to pro-

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“ tect their trade, about which his Excellency appeared  
“ to interest himself so warmly ; that he had, indeed,  
“ declined complying with particular requests; not so  
“ much perhaps that they were in themselves impro-  
“ per, as that they were introductive of something new,  
“ which, at the advanced period of his life, he did not  
“ think it prudent to adopt, at least upon the sudden;  
“ that as to the business of Canton, the detail of matters  
“ in that distant province was left, for the most part,  
“ to the discretion or recommendation of the Viceroy,  
“ who, officially consulted on the answer, would not  
“ readily dictate an abolition of the practices he had  
“ permitted ; but as a particular mark of his Imperial  
“ Majesty’s attention to the wishes of the English on  
“ this head, he had made a change in the government  
“ of that province, and named to it a person of his own  
“ blood, who was endued with uncommon sentiments of  
“ justice and benignity towards strangers ; that he had  
“ written in the strongest terms to this new Viceroy,  
“ who had not yet quitted his late government of Che-  
“ Kiang, in which Chu-san is situated, to examine and  
“ revise the regulations of the port of Canton, and to put  
“ an effectual stop to the vexations of which the Eng-  
“ lish complained there.” Sun-ta-Zhin said, in addition,  
to the Ambassador, that it might be, perhaps, imagined he  
was induced to give, out of tenderness to his Excellency,  
the most favourable interpretation of the Emperor’s dis-



patches to him, but that the expressions he had used in the most material parts of his discourse were the Emperor's own words; that as the new Viceroy of Canton still resided at Han-choo-foo, the capital of Che-kiang, he would introduce the Ambassador there to him, who would give him a full confirmation of the assurances he now received.

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The dispatches to and from the Emperor were carried by a man on horseback, in a flat bag or basket, tied round his body. At the bottom of the bag were bells suspended, to announce his approach at every stage, where he and his horse were to be relieved. The distance between the stages was about ten or a dozen miles.

As soon as the yachts had entered into the province of Kiang-nan, a mark of attention was paid to the Embassy by the Viceroy there, which had not been thought of before. The trackers employed upon the Pei-ho, at the entrance of the Ambassador into China, and hitherto on his return, were clad in the plain blue cotton garments, and sometimes indeed in the tattered remnants of the poorest peasantry. They now appeared in a new and regular uniform, edged with red, and a smart bonnet with a flat red button on the top of it, all which passed from one set of trackers to another. This new dress was indeed more consistent with the appearance of the yachts and barges in every other respect. Of a handsome and convenient construction, honoured with the Imperial

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colours, and decked with streamers and other naval ornaments, sounding with noisy music, not unpleasant when heard at a little distance, the vessels of the Embassy followed each other, to the number of about forty, in regular procession. Their progress had indeed been slow, especially when a south-west breeze sprang up; but it made the air feel uncommonly pleasant. A grey mottled sky disclosed, at the same time, such a proportion of the sun's beams as rendered the weather still more cheerful. The scene became more lively and delightful, not only by the view of other vessels sailing and crossing each other on the canal; but by the prospects on shore of towns and villages, of husbandmen cultivating the fields or reaping the harvest; of military posts with flags flying on the Embassy's approach, and guards saluting it with repeated firing of guns; and numberless spectators hurrying to the banks of the canal, to get a sight of the strangers as they passed.

On the southern side of the Yellow river, the yachts began to proceed more quickly, the current of the canal, as it quitted that river, being more rapid; in consequence of which the number of flood-gates was increased upon this part of it. Farther on, it was carried by the margin of lake Pao-yng, whose surface was much lower than that of the canal, which was separated from the lake by a strong embankment, such as has already been described. In this lake an extensive fishery is carried



on, principally by the means of the Leu-tse, or fishing corvorant of China, which in scientific language may be distinguished from other species by the name of *pelicanus Sinensis*. These fishing birds are here trained, and sent from hence to all parts of the empire. The 36th plate of the folio volume contains a view of the Pao-yng lake, with its separation by an embankment from the grand canal.

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Beyond the lake the country was again so covered with swamps and morasses, as not to admit of the usual cultivation. The lien-wha grew indeed spontaneously amongst them, and in great abundance. In such situations the Chinese exhibit new instances of industry and ingenuity. They form rafts or hurdles of bamboo, which they float upon the water, or rest upon morasses: on these rafts they spread a layer of soil, from whence they raise various kinds of vegetables, in like manner as successful attempts are made, in miniature, to produce small vegetables on ship-board, by laying seeds on moistened soil, or even on pieces of flannel, placed in frames, and wetted. By these means the radical leaves, for example, of mustard sprout up quickly, and are particularly grateful to persons long absent from land.

Beside this method of raising a crop upon the water, the lakes, rivers, and canals of China are converted so assiduously to such other useful purposes, either in cultivating vegetables growing from their bottom, particularly the lien-wha, or in catching, by so many means,

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the birds that swim upon its surface, or the fish that exist under it, or the other animals which creep upon the bottom, or by fertilizing the lands by irrigation from them, and by the cheap and easy communication which they afford between the different districts of the empire: thus saving so much land, otherwise necessary for broad roads, as well as so much labour to make, and keep them in repair, which is now employed in agriculture; and so much more land, which would have been necessary to produce nourishment for the cattle, otherwise required to carry travellers and burdens on high roads; that it may be considered to be a moderate calculation, to place that element upon an equality, in productive value, with the solid parts of the empire, of the same superficial dimensions.

The morassy country has certainly most the appearance of poverty, and is the least encouraging to inhabit of any hitherto met with in the travels of the Embassy. It is from such places, and in consequence of the loss of their habitations, and the produce of their industry, overwhelmed by extraordinary inundations, or of other unexpected calamities, that the natives are induced sometimes to colonize into Tartary, notwithstanding the general prejudice imbibed against the people of that country. Tho many of the chief mandarines, and most of the viceroys of the provinces are of Tartarian birth or blood, and some of them, at least, men of polished manners



and respectable character, the Chinese consider the Tartars in general in the light of barbarians ; as an instance of which they repeat the story, popular amongst them for four centuries, that when the Mongol Tartars seized first upon Peking, they erected tents for their own accommodation, while they put their horses in the palaces of the Chinese emperors.

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In the midst of the low grounds in this part of the route, a town of the third order was situated, the tops of its walls being little more than level with the surface of the canal, which formed an aqueduct raised twenty feet, was two hundred feet in width, and ran at the rate of three miles an hour. From these circumstances some judgment may be formed of the strength of the embankments which contained it, and the immensity of labour such a work required.

Soon afterwards the yachts arrived before a handsome town, of which such of the houses as fronted a terrace on the banks of the canal, were all two stories high, and neatly white-washed. The inhabitants were better clad, and the women fairer and better featured than most of those who had been seen to the northward.

The canal, on proceeding somewhat farther ceased to have a current ; and the ground rising to the southward, it was found necessary, in order to gain a level, to cut down about twenty feet deep for a tract of seven or eight miles ; at the end of which the yachts reached a city

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of the first order, bearing marks of great antiquity. Some of the walls and buildings were in ruins, and overgrown with mosses, grass, and shrubbery. It still had the appearance of carrying on a considerable trade; and there were not fewer than a thousand vessels of different sizes lying at anchor close to it. A garrison of at least two thousand men turned out, with colours and music, and appointed as if going to be reviewed. The country thereabouts was a plain well cultivated in rice and mulberry-trees.

Those trees did not appear to differ from the common mulberry-trees of Europe. Their branches were pruned off continually, in order that the young scions might the more readily sprout out; for the leaves of these are found to be more tender, and delicate in their texture, and more nutritious for the silk-worms, than the coarse leaves produced upon older branches. Some of those trees were said to bear white, and some red or black, fruit, but often they bore none. They were cultivated and reared with the greatest care; and planted in rows about ten or twelve feet asunder, in beds of a moist, but not inundated, loamy earth, thrown about a foot high above the surface of the ground. The trees are frequently pruned or dwarfed, in order to make them produce a constant succession of young shoots, and tender leaves, the latter of which, growing upon the black mulberry, are supposed to be most succulent. The Chinese do not graft their trees;



but some of the larger branches were observed to bear the misletoe. That no waste might be occasioned by the intermediate furrows, those spaces are sown with rice. Water is conveyed along the furrows through the grounds.

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The insects are nursed in small houses erected for that purpose in the midst of those plantations, in order to be retired from all noise ; for the Chinese have an idea that even the barking of a dog will do some injury to the worms. Some, however, are reared in towns by the inhabitants, who purchase mulberry-leaves from the cultivator of those trees. The eggs are deposited upon paper, and preserved in it till the time of hatching. When the usual period of hatching is arrived, the paper containing the eggs is moistened with a little water, and shortly afterwards the young worms are produced. The natural temperature of the climate is sufficient for that purpose. The Chinese are unacquainted with the nature and use of the thermometer ; experience only guides them. They only apply artificial heat, when they wish to have the brood earlier than usual. The insects are always suffocated before the silk is reeled off ; for this purpose the cocoons or silk balls are placed in a basket, or in vessels pierced with holes, and exposed to the steam of boiling water, in such a manner as that the steam may circulate freely among all the cocoons. After the silk is wound off, the aurelias furnish an article for the table ; as does indeed the white earth grub, and the larva of the sphinx

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moth; in which taste, however, the Chinese cannot be said to be altogether singular, as a large caterpillar that feeds upon a palm is accounted a delicious morsel in some parts of the West Indies.

In three days after the yachts had crossed the Yellow river, they came to that of Yang-tse-kiang, which is considered upon the whole to equal, if not to exceed, in size the former. It was at this place about two miles wide.

The sources of this river are amongst the same range of mountains from whence the Yellow river runs, and which it afterwards approaches in one part within a very few miles.

“ The Yang-tse-kiang,” as Mr. Barrow states it, “ consisted of two distinct branches, which separating from each other about eighty miles, flow in a parallel direction to the southward, for the space of seventy miles, and then unite between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, just at the boundaries of the two provinces of Yunnan and Sechuen. Then striking off to the north-east, directly through the latter of these provinces, collecting waters of the numerous rivers that descend towards it, from that and another province called Quee-choo; it continues in this direction about six hundred miles, and then enters the province of Hoo-quang, in the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Through this last province it takes a serpentine course, and receives the waters of the



“ several lakes with which this part of the country  
 “ abounds. Leaving Hoo-quang it passes between the  
 “ province of Honan and Kiang-see, and, with a little  
 “ inclination from the east towards the north, its copious  
 “ stream glides smoothly through the province of Kiang-  
 “ nan, and is disembogued into the sea which bounds  
 “ China to the east, in the thirty-second degree of north  
 “ latitude. The distance from thence to Hoo-quang is  
 “ about eight hundred miles, which makes the whole  
 “ length of the river about two thousand two hundred  
 “ miles. The current where the yachts of the Embassy  
 “ passed it, did not exceed in the strongest part two miles ;  
 “ but it was much deeper than the Yellow river.” Thus  
 these two great Chinese rivers, taking their source in the  
 same mountains, passing almost close to each other in a  
 particular spot, separating afterwards from each other to  
 the distance of fifteen degrees of latitude, finally dis-  
 charge themselves into the same sea, within two degrees  
 of each other, comprehending within their grasp a tract  
 of land of above a thousand miles in length, which they  
 contribute generally to fertilize and enrich, tho by extra-  
 ordinary accidents occasioning unusual torrents, they  
 may do injury in particular instances. This tract in-  
 cludes the principal portion of the Chinese empire in  
 ancient times ; and lies in that part of the temperate  
 zone, which in Europe as well as Asia, has been the  
 scene where the most celebrated characters have existed,

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and the most brilliant actions been performed, that history has transmitted to posterity.

In order to gain the canal on the other side of the Yang-tse-kiang, the yachts sailed a little way along the northern shore of that great river. The face of the country was here entirely changed. Instead of a flat country, lakes, and swamps, the ground rose gradually from the margin of the river, enriched with various kinds and tints of culture, interspersed with trees, temples, and pagodas. In the river were islands skirted with shrubbery, and rocks rising abruptly from the surface of the water. The waves rolled like those at sea, and porpoises are said to be sometimes seen leaping amongst them; several junks were lying at anchor.

In crossing the river the attention was particularly attracted by an island situated in the middle of the river, called Chin-shan, or the golden mountain, which rose almost perpendicularly out of the river, and is interspersed with gardens and pleasure-houses. Art and nature seemed to have combined to give to this spot the appearance of enchantment. It belonged to the Emperor, who had built upon it a large and handsome palace, and on the highest eminence several temples and pagodas. The island also contained a large monastery of priests, by whom it is chiefly inhabited. A vast variety of vessels were moving on this large river. In Plate 39 of the folio volume is a view of the Chin-shan island, and on



the left hand side of the print is an accurate delineation of a Chinese ship of war.

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The ground to the southward of the Yang-tse-kiang, gradually rose to such a height that it was found necessary to cut down the earth in some parts to the depth of near eighty feet, in order to find a level for the passage of the canal.

The land in this neighbourhood was chiefly cultivated with that particular species or variety of the cotton shrub that produces the cloth usually called Nankeens in Europe. The down enveloping the seed, constitutes what, in the language of trade, is called cotton-wool, which is of a white colour in the common plant; but in that growing in the province of Kiang-nan, of which the city of Nan-kin is the capital, the down is of the same yellow tinge which it preserves when spun and woven into cloth. The colour, as well as the superior quality of this substance, in Kiang-nan, was supposed to be owing to the particular nature of the soil; and it is asserted, that the seeds of the nankeen cotton degenerate in both particulars when transplanted to another province, however little different in its climate.

Solid and permanent bridges are thrown over the canal in many parts of this province. Some of them were built of a reddish granite, containing a large proportion of feldspath; and some of a coarse grey marble. The arches of some of those bridges are of a semicircular, and

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others of an elliptical form, with the vertex of the ellipsis at the top of the arch. Some are in the form of a horse shoe, the space being widest near the top of the arch. The stones that form the arch of a Chinese bridge are not of a square form, leaving at the top a triangular space filled by a key-stone adapted to fit the vacancy; but all the stones of the arch were so many wedges inclined according to the curve of the arch, which, when arranged in their proper places, they completed.

For passing under these bridges the strong single masts of the yachts and barges were taken down; and others consisting of two poles, uniting at the top, and diverging to the breadth of the respective vessels, like the two legs of an isosceles triangle, as appears in the opposite engraving, were erected by the means of two iron bolts passing into the ends of those poles, and into notches cut in two posts, fixed on each side of the vessel. Those masts were readily lowered to pass under the bridges, some of which, however, were so lofty as to allow the vessels to pass under them in full sail. Those bridges were here necessary for a communication between the opposite sides of the canal, along which was an uninterrupted chain of towns and villages. The height of the arches, and the steps upon them, prevented the passage of wheel-carriages over them, the number of which was small, and the use infrequent, as all heavy articles and most passengers, are carried upon the rivers and canals with which the country is inter-



sected almost on every side. In Plate 40 of the folio volume is a view of Chinese barges preparing to pass under a bridge. On the left hand side of the print appears a communication under the bridge, between the grand canal and another branching from it, without any inconvenience to foot passengers, or to the people employed to track the barges.

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The streets of the city of Sou-choo-foo, through the suburbs of which the yachts now passed, were divided, like Venice, by branches from the principal canal. Over



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each of those branches was erected an elegant stone bridge. The fleet of the Embassy was nearly three hours in passing the suburbs of Sou-choo-foo, before they arrived at the city walls, under which was drawn up an immense number of vessels. In one ship-builder's yard were sixteen upon the stocks close to each other, each of the burden of about two hundred tons. In the walls of the city are turned several arches, through which the canal passes, not unlike those in the walls of the city of Batavia.

Sou-choo-foo appears to be an uncommonly large and populous city. The houses were generally well built and handsomely decorated. The inhabitants, most of whom were clad in silk, appeared cheerful and prosperous; tho it was understood that they still regretted the removal of the court from Nan-kin, in their neighbourhood, which had formerly been the capital of the empire. Nothing, indeed, but very strong political considerations, could have induced the sovereign to prefer the northern regions of Pe-che-lee, on the confines of Tartary, to this part of his dominions, on which all the advantages of climate, soil, and productions, have been lavished by nature with an unsparing hand; and where nature itself has been improved by industry and ingenuity. Sou-choo-foo has been termed by travellers the paradise of China. Among the natives it is a common saying, that "heaven is above them; but on the earth they have Sou-choo-foo."



The gentlemen of the Embassy also thought the women of Sou-choo-foo handsomer, fairer, and dressed in a better taste, than most of those they had seen to the northward; where the necessity of long toiling in the open air on a less fertile soil, and of sharing in the rudest labours with the men, the confined and homely fare which serves them for subsistence, and the little leisure left them for attending to their persons, may have contributed to darken their complexions, as well as to harden and disfigure many of their features, more than could be effected by the occasional rays of a more southern sun falling upon the females, at the distance of thirty degrees from the Equator. The ladies of Sou-choo-foo are sometimes distinguished by a small cap on the forehead brought down to a peak between the eyebrows, made of black satin, and set with jewels. They likewise wear ear pendants of crystal or gold.

At a short distance from Sou-choo-foo is the beautiful lake of Tai-hoo, surrounded by a chain of picturesque hills. This lake, which furnishes fish for the inhabitants of Sou-choo-foo, serves them also as a place of public resort and recreation. Many of the pleasure-boats were rowed each by a single female. Every boat had a neat and covered cabin; and the rowers were supposed to follow more than one profession. The lake divides the province of Kiang-nan and that of Che-kiang, to the capital of which the Embassy was now approaching.

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Beyond Sou-choo-foo, the whole face of the country to a considerable distance presented a forest of mulberry plantations, interspersed with a few tallow trees. From the fruit of this last tree, the *croton sebiferum* of Linnaeus, the Chinese obtain a kind of vegetable fat with which they make a great proportion of their candles. This fruit, in its external appearance, bears some resemblance to the berries of the ivy. As soon as it is ripe, the capsule opens and divides into two, or, more frequently, three divisions, and falling off, discovers as many kernels, each attached by a separate foot-stalk, and covered with a fleshy substance of a snowy whiteness, contrasting beautifully with the leaves of the tree, which, at this season, are of a tint between a purple and a scarlet. The fat or fleshy substance is separated from the kernels by crushing and boiling them in water. The candles made of this fat are firmer than those of tallow, as well as free from all offensive odour. They are not, however, equal to those of wax or spermaceti. The latter substance is indeed unknown in China, as well as the animal which produces it. The art of blanching bees wax, is also little known to the Chinese; and that species of wax is chiefly used for ointments and plasters. The wax for candles, is generally the produce of insects, feeding chiefly on the privet, as is mentioned in the chapter of Cochin-China, in the former volume. It is naturally white, and so pure as to produce no smoke; but it is



collected in such small quantities, as to be scarce and dear. Cheap candles are also made of tallow, and even of grease of too little consistence to be used, without the contrivance of being coated with the firmer substance of the tallow tree or of wax. The surface of those candles are also sometimes painted red. Wicks are made of many different materials. Those for lamps, are of the amianthus, which burns without being consumable in fire; or of the artemisia, and the carduus maræus, with which tinder is also made; but for candles, a light inflammable wood is used, in the lower extremity of which is pierced a small tube to receive an iron pin, which is fixed on the flat top of the candlestick, and thus supports the candle, without the necessity of a socket. The economical spirit of the Chinese induces them to consider that this form of their candlesticks answers also the purpose of what the poorer classes only of the people know elsewhere under the denomination of a *save-all*, which is supposed to make a difference of a tenth, or thereabouts, in the consumption of that necessary article. The tallow tree is said to have been transplanted to Carolina, and to flourish there as well as in China. Few other trees were planted in this part of the banks of the great canal, which was here without a current, and so wide that a stone bridge of no less than ninety arches was in one place thrown over it.

The canal continued to be of a width between sixty

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and an hundred yards, and its banks generally faced with stone, through the whole length of the rich and beautiful country, about ninety miles in length, which lies between Sou-choo-foo and Han-choo-foo.

The yachts stopped at a village near the latter city, to receive the new Viceroy of Canton, who came in his barge to pay the first visit to Sun-ta-zhin, and to the Ambassador.

The Viceroy Chaung-ta-zhin, appeared to be a man of mild and pleasing manners, assuming little of the state either of his rank, as a relation of the Emperor, or of his station as Governor-general of the two provinces of Quang-tung or Canton, and Quang-see. He confirmed the assurances which had been given by Sun-ta-zhin, as to the disposition and directions of the Emperor, in relation to the English, and mentioned his own good will towards them.

The reader will observe, that the names of the Chinese mentioned in this work, are, independently of the additions of their qualities, all of one syllable; as is every word in the Chinese language. The additions are the more necessary, as a name implies no distinction in favour of the family which bears it. There are but one hundred family names known throughout the empire; and the expression of the hundred names, is often used as a collective term for the whole Chinese nation. Individuals, however, occasionally assume, at different periods, or under dif-



ferent circumstances of their lives, other appellations expressive of some quality or event. Each family name is borne by persons of all classes. Identity of such names implies, however, some connection. All who bear it, may attend the hall of their supposed common ancestors. A Chinese seldom, if ever, marries a woman of his own family name; but the sons and daughters of sisters married to husbands of two different names, marry frequently; those of two brothers bearing the same name, cannot. Tho names always do not denote distinctions, and tho no hereditary nobility exists in China, pedigree is there an object of much attention. He who can reckon his ancestors to a distant period, as if distinguished by their private virtues, or public services, and by the honours conferred upon them in consequence, by the government, is much more respected than new men. The supposed descendants of Confucius are always treated with particular regard; and immunities have been granted to them by the Emperors. The ambition of an illustrious descent is so general, that the Emperors have often granted titles to the deceased ancestors of a living man of merit. Indeed, every means are tried to stimulate to good, and to deter from evil, actions, by the reward of praise, as well as by the dread of shame. A public register, called the Book of Merit, is kept for the purpose of recording every striking instance of meritorious conduct; and, in the enumeration of a man's titles, the num-

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ber of times that his name had been so inserted, is particularly mentioned. For faults, on the other hand, he is subject to be degraded; and it is not deemed sufficient that he should assume only his reduced title; but he must likewise add to his name the fact of his degradation.

Those regulations principally regard the mandarines, who are entrusted with authority by the Emperor, in order to promote the welfare of the people. If this trust be abused, and his subjects suffer more than the nature of society requires, it must be owing, in great measure, to the narrow limits of the physical powers of a single person, whose vigilance his delegates will be able to elude, and whose best intentions they may be able to pervert, unless the people possess over them some controlling power.

The Viceroy, Chaung-ta-Zhin, besides the honours and favours conferred upon him by the Emperor, was gratified, by the inhabitants of the province of Che-kiang, whom he had governed with justice and benevolence, with the most flattering of all titles, by calling him “the second Confucius.”

This Viceroy accompanied Sun-ta-Zhin and the Ambassador, on their entrance into Han-choo-foo, on the ninth of November, 1793.

In the chart, numbered 9 in the folio volume, are delineated, beside the route from Pekin to Zhe-hol, all the rivers and canals that open a direct communication



between that capital and Han-choo-foo; all the cities of the first, second, and third order, with many considerable towns and villages, situated upon the banks of those canals and rivers. The general surface also, as well as produce of the different parts of the country that occurred throughout this route, with the temperature, as shewn by Fahrenheit's thermometer at the time they were passed, are marked upon the same chart.

Plants in  
Shan-tung  
and Kiang-  
nan.

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*Plants, collected in the Provinces of Shan-tung and  
Kiang-nan.*

Equisetum.	Viola.
Fraxinus.	Chrysanthemum indicum.
Mimosa.	Inula japonica.
Roetboellia.	Artemisia.
Holcus.	Prenanthes.
Antistheria ciliaris.	Medicago lupulina.
Cannabis sativa.	———— falcata.
Salix.	Trifolium melilotus.
Cucurbila citrallus.	Astragalus, two species.
Myriophyllum spicatum.	Æschynomene.
Amaranthus caudatus.	Phaseolus.
———— tricolor.	Dolichos cultratus.
Morus papyrifera.	Gossipium.
———— another species.	Geranium.

Plants in  
Shan-tung  
and Kiang-  
nan.

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|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Cleome viscosa.        | Cynosurus indicus.         |
| Sysimbrium amphibium.  | Poa chinensis.             |
| —— another species.    | —— two other species.      |
| Vitex negundo.         | Panicum dactylon.          |
| Clerodendrum.          | —— crus galli.             |
| Lindernia japonica.    | Scirpus autumnalis.        |
| Antirrhinum.           | —— miliaceus.              |
| Mentha canadensis.     | Cyperus difformis.         |
| Leonurus sibiricus.    | —— iria.                   |
| Ocimum.                | Cyperus odoratus, Osbeck.  |
| Potentilla.            | —— two other spe-          |
| Cratægus.              | cies.                      |
| Stellaria.             | Schoenus aculeatus.        |
| Melia.                 | Lycopus europæus.          |
| Sophora japonica.      | Verbena officinalis.       |
| Oxyra sativa.          | Veronica anagallis.        |
| Berberis cretica.      | Thuya pensilis, a new spe- |
| Tamarix.               | cies.                      |
| Chænopodium aristatum. | Kylinga monocephala.       |
| —— another species.    | Justitia procumbens.       |
| Celosia argentea.      | Ilex.                      |
| Euonymus.              | Trapa.                     |
| Solanum nigrum.        | Paspalum.                  |
| Convolvulus.           | Polygonum lapathifolium.   |
| Cistus.                | —— dumetorum               |
| Rubus cordifolia.      | —— amphibium.              |
| Arundo phragmites.     | —— perfoliatum.            |



Plants in  
Shan-tung  
and Kiang-  
nan.

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Saccharum.	Pteris caudata.
Leersia.	Asplenium.
Dianthus plumarius.	Woodwardia.
Penthorum.	Polypodium hastatum,
Oxalis corniculata.	Thunberg.
Agrimonia.	———— falcatum,
Rosa.	Thunberg.
Nymphæa nelumbo.	—— another species.
Thea.	Davallia chinensis. Smith.
Stratiotes.	Trichomanes Chinensis.
Marchantia.	Marsilea quadrifolia.
Hypnum.	Marsilea natans.
Chara.	Azolla filiculoides. La-
Phyllanthus.	marck.
Croton sebiferum.	Lycopodium cernuum.
Agyneia impubes.	Lycopodium, another spe-
Naja marina.	cies.
Valisneria spiralis.	Laurus camphora.
Menispermum trilobum,	Triticum.
Thunberg.	Nicotiana.
Andropogon.	Morus alba.
Cenchrus.	—— nigra.
Ficus pumila.	Fagus castanea
Pteris serrulata, Hort. Kew.	Viscum.
—— semi-pinnata.	Nicotiana tabacum.

## CHAPTER VI.

HAN-CHOO-FOO. JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO CHU-SAN ; AND ALSO TO CANTON. PASSAGE OF THE LION AND HINDOSTAN FROM THE FORMER TO THE LATTER.

Han-choo-foo.

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A LARGE irregular bason, which terminates the Imperial or grand canal, is situated in the suburbs of Han-choo-foo. It is increased by waters from a lake lying to the westward of the city. The latter furnishes also a copious stream, running in a channel round the city walls, in which are turned several arches for small canals to pass through the principal streets.

Han-choo-foo is situated between the bason of the grand canal, and the river Chen-tang-chaung, which falls into the sea at the distance of little more than sixty miles to the eastward. The tide when full increases the width of this river to about four miles opposite the city. At low water there is a fine level strand near two miles broad, which extends towards the sea as far as the eye can reach. By this river, Han-choo-foo receives and exports great quantities of merchandize to and from the southern provinces. The goods are shipped and unshipped by means of waggons with four wheels to each, placed in a line, and forming a convenient pier, which



is easily lengthened or shortened, by increasing or diminishing the number of waggons, according to the distance of the vessels from the shore.

Han-choo-  
foo.

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Between the river and the bason of the grand canal, there is no water communication. All the merchandize therefore brought by sea into the river from the southward, as well as whatever comes from the lakes and rivers of Che-kiang and Fo-chen, must be landed at this city, in their way to the northward: a circumstance which renders Han-choo-foo the general emporium for all articles that pass between the northern and southern provinces. Its population is indeed immense; and is supposed to be not very much inferior to that of Pekin. It has, however, nothing grand in its appearance except its walls. The houses are low. None exceed two stories. The streets are narrow. They are paved with large smooth flags in the middle, and with small flat stones on each side. The chief streets consist entirely of shops and warehouses; many not inferior to the most splendid of the kind in London. A brisk and extensive trade seems to be carried on in silks; and not a little in furs and English broadcloths. It was difficult to pass along the streets, on account of the vast concourse of people, not assembled merely to see the strangers, or on any other public occasion; but each individual going about his own concerns. In the shops, several men but no women attend behind the counters. The flowered

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and embroidered satins, and other branches in the manufacture of silk, every part of which is done by women, occupy vast numbers of them in Han-choo-foo. Most of the men were gaily dressed; and appeared to be in comfortable circumstances.

Dress is seldom altered in China from fancy or fashion: whatever is thought suitable to the condition of the wearer, or to the season of the year, continues generally, under similar circumstances, to be the same. Even among the ladies, there is little variety in their dresses, except, perhaps, in the disposition of the flowers or other ornaments of the head. They generally wear over a silk netting, which is in lieu of linen, a waistcoat and drawers of silk, trimmed or lined, in cold weather, with furs. Above this is worn a long satin robe, which is gracefully gathered round the waist, and confined with a sash. These different parts of their apparel are usually each of a different colour, in the selection and contrast of which, the wearers chiefly display their taste. Tho the ladies reckon corpulence a beauty in a man, they consider it as a palpable blemish in their own sex, and aim at preserving a slimness and delicacy of shape. They suffer their nails to grow, but reduce their eyebrows to an arched line.

At Han-choo-foo, information was received that the Lion, with Sir Erasmus Gower, had sailed on the sixteenth of October from Chu-san, before the arrival there of the Ambassador's letter to him, which the Emperor had



dispatched on the representation of Sun-ta-Zhin. Had it been sent on the fourth of that month, when it was delivered for that purpose to the Colao Ho-choong-taung, it would have certainly reached Chu-san before Sir Erasmus's departure; and would have overruled the instructions which had been given by his Excellency to him formerly, in the prospect of a longer stay at Peking, to proceed on a circuitous voyage, and not to approach the neighbourhood of Canton till May. Before that time, the apprehension of the approaching south-west monsoon, might have determined the Company's ships bound for Europe, to risk going without a convoy, rather than to be obliged to wait another year; thus defeating the purpose which had precipitated the Ambassador's departure from the capital of China. An event, however, took place, which left a possibility that the object, in itself of such importance, and about which his Excellency was so anxious, of his conveying in the *Lion* to England the valuable fleet of the present season, without loss of time, might be still obtained. Sir Erasmus Gower, in a letter written the day before he sailed from Chu-san, acquainted the Ambassador that, finding himself unexpectedly in the want of several articles absolutely necessary for the ship's company, and particularly of medicines, which the Chinese could not supply, he should be obliged to direct his course, in the first instance, for the river of Canton, where he hoped to be provided by the English factory;

Han-choo-foo.

Han-choo-foo.

after which he should immediately proceed in the route which had been pointed out to him by his Excellency. It was possible that a new letter might be made to reach Sir Erasmus during the short stay he intended to make before Canton. The suspicions, which had hitherto been elsewhere so baneful in traversing the intentions of the Ambassador, had no place in the breasts of Sun-ta-Zhin or the Viceroy. A letter to stop the *Lion* was instantly dispatched to the Company's Commissioners at Canton, with a request that it should be forwarded to Sir Erasmus Gower, if within their reach.

The Hindostan Indiaman was still at Chu-san waiting for her commander. The new Viceroy of Canton, did not, as the old had done, object to his going to join his ship. It was determined also, that most of the gentlemen of the Embassy who had been passengers in her to China, should return by the same conveyance; and that the presents from the Emperor to his Majesty should be put on board that vessel, in like manner as those from his Majesty to the Emperor had been brought out in her. For this purpose, it was necessary that the Embassy should be divided into two parties, to take different routes. The Ambassador and the greatest number were to proceed to Canton; and Chaung-ta-Zhin, who was likewise going to take possession of the government of that province, hastened his departure in order to accompany them: while Sun-ta-Zhin with equal readiness,



agreed to take to Chu-san Colonel Benson, and the other gentlemen who were going to join the Hindostan.

Han-choo-  
foo.

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The arrangements to be made on this occasion, were attended with the delay of a few days at Han-choo-foo. Some of the gentlemen took the opportunity of writing to their friends in Europe, on the supposition of a cargo for the Hindostan being to be found at Chu-san, and of her sailing from thence without delay for Europe, in case of the Lion having sailed from Canton, before the Ambassador's directions for detaining that ship, should arrive there. If that circumstance should really happen, Sir Erasmus would have endeavoured to beat up against the north-east monsoon, through the strait of Formosa, in his way to the Japan islands. There was a chance also, in such an event, of his being met by the Hindostan in that strait, where his progress, in a northern course against the monsoon, would necessarily be slow. Captain Mackintosh was, therefore, provided with a letter to Sir Erasmus, similar in effect to that which was already addressed to him, under cover to the Commissioners at Canton.

During the preparations at Han-choo-foo, Van-ta-Zhin with his usual good nature, invited Mr. Barrow and some other gentlemen of the Embassy to take a sail across the lake See-hoo, which lay at a little distance to the westward. An elegant accommodation barge, with an attending boat for cooking victuals, were provided instantly. The lake was full of fish, on which they dined.

Han-choo-foo.

It was in most places shallow, the water perfectly pellucid, and the bottom gravelly. Vast crowds of pleasure boats were sailing on it. The parties consisted entirely of men: the women in this part of the country not appearing on such occasions. The lake formed a beautiful sheet of water, about three or four miles in diameter, and surrounded to the north, east, and south, by an amphitheatre of picturesque mountains, between the base of which and the margin of the lake, the narrow slip of level ground was laid out in a pleasing style suitable to the situation. It was ornamented with houses and gardens of mandarines, as well as a palace belonging to the Emperor, together with temples, monasteries for the Hoshung or priests of Fo, and a number of light and fanciful stone bridges that are thrown across the arms of the lake, as it runs up into the deep glens to meet the rills which ooze from the sides of the mountains. Upon the summit also were erected pagodas, one of which attracted particular attention. It was situated on the verge of a bold peninsula that juts into the lake, and was called the Lui-foong-ta, or temple of the Thundering Winds. The party passed under it upon the lake so rapidly, that no accurate drawing could be taken of it; but the sketch in plate 41 of the folio volume, will show that the style of architecture is different from that in general used throughout the country. Four stories were yet standing, but the top was in ruins. Something like a regular order



was yet discernible in the mouldering cornices, that projected in a kind of double curve. Grass, shrubs, and mosses were growing upon them. No ivy, the natural production of such a place in Europe, was perceived upon it; nor, indeed, in any other part of China. The arches and mouldings were of red, the upright walls of yellow, stone. Its present height does not exceed one hundred and twenty feet. It is confidently asserted to have been erected in the time of Confucius, upwards of two thousand years ago.

Han-choo-foo.

Within the woods, on the brow of the hills, and in the vallies, were several thousand tombs, generally built in the form of small houses, about six or eight feet high, painted mostly blue, and fronted with white pillars, and ranged in the form of a pigmy street. The tombs of persons of high rank were situated, apart, on the slope of hills, on terraces of a semicircular form, and supported by breast-walls of stone, and doors of black marble, inscribed with the names, qualities, and virtues of the deceased, at length; and oftentimes obelisks were erected upon the terraces. Those monuments of departed greatness are surrounded by trees, such as different species of the cypress, whose deep and melancholy hue seems to have pointed them every where out, as well suited for scenes of woe; the churchyard yew did not, however, grow there, nor was it observed in any part of China; but a species of weeping thuya, or *lignum vitæ*, with

Han-choo-foo.

long and pendent branches, unknown in Europe, overhung many of the graves. There was a vast variety of other tombs of every form, in earth, stone, and wood. This place seems to be one of the great burying places belonging to Han-choo-foo; but it is common also, in this part of China, to meet coffins in the fields, gardens, and upon the sides of roads, as well as frequently upon the banks of the grand canal.

In this public burying place, a night seldom passes without a visit by persons accompanied by torches, to pay their respects to their deceased relations, whose monuments they decorate with slips of silk or painted paper, besides strewing flowers and burning perfumes before them.

The last mentioned plate exhibits a view of the lake See-hoo, and tower of the Thundering Winds, taken from the vale of tombs.

A circumstance happened about this time altogether trifling in itself, but which serves to shew, upon how slight a ground the Chinese are apt to take alarm at any thing done by strangers. In the distribution of the baggage belonging to the whole of the Embassy, then about to separate, some of it which was intended to continue with those who were to proceed directly to Canton, was carried by mistake on board the barges bound for Chu-san, and then lying in a small canal which led thither. To rectify this mistake, three gentlemen of the



Embassy, together with a mandarine and his servant, set out for the Chu-san barges, early of a morning. They rode round the eastern part of the city, and over a pleasant plain to the bank of the river. There they mounted waggons, covered with carpets and furnished with cushions stuffed with cotton and covered with silk to sit upon, and drawn each by three brisk buffaloes abreast. The buffaloes were conducted by means of a cord passed through the cartilage of the nose, as camels usually are. The waggoner jumping upon the middle buffalo, the animals set off in a full gallop towards the water, into which they plunged without hesitation; and proceeded while within their depth, when a small boat took the travellers to the opposite side of the river; from whence they went in chairs about a mile, to the Chu-san canal. There they saw the proper alterations made as to the destination of the baggage; and then set out upon their return to their yachts, still lying in the bason of the grand canal. Having crossed the river and bent their course directly to the city, through which the gentlemen knew that the shortest way to the bason lay; but their companion the mandarine, who had projected to conduct them round its walls, as he had done in setting out, conceiving it was unfit for strangers to be allowed to traverse the city, which, however, they had done already with Van-ta-Zhin, dispatched privately a messenger to have the gates shut immediately against them.

Han-choo-  
foo.

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Chu-san.

The centinel obeyed, and admission being demanded by the travellers, he pretended that the governor of the city had the keys. As it was not near the usual hour of shutting the gates at night, the mandarine's order, when communicated to the officers within side, occasioned some confusion; and a part of the numerous garrison was quickly under arms. The noise soon reached the ears of Van-ta-Zhin, who laughed heartily at the idea of three Englishmen creating an alarm in one of the largest and strongest cities of the Chinese empire.

The party going to Chu-san being the fewest in number, and the soonest ready, took their leave of the others on the thirteenth of November, 1793. They had at their head the respectable Sun-ta-Zhin, who bid a cordial farewell to the Ambassador and his chief companions. His conduct, indeed, from the time of his first knowledge of them at Zhe-hol, was constantly so kind towards them, and his representations concerning them were of so much weight with his Imperial Majesty, that had the Embassy happened to be put under his care instead of that of the Legate, at their first entrance into China, with the charge of corresponding with the government respecting them, it is highly probable that the Ambassador would have met with little difficulty either in the objects of his mission, or in the duration of it.

Sun-ta-Zhin was attentive likewise to the party now under his protection. Finding that the barges on which



Colonel Benson, Captain Mackintosh, and the other gentlemen, were carried on a small canal during the first day's journey, were inconvenient, he took care that they should be accommodated much better afterwards. In their first day's course, they passed through a champagne country, of which the fields were richly and completely cultivated. Captain Mackintosh "compares them " to the garden grounds near London, and thought them " if possible more fertile, with much less mixture of " land lying unemployed. He observed, instead of a " quarry below the soil, a solid hill of rock three hundred feet, at least, in height, which was hewn into plain " sides or faces, from whence were cut stones or blocks " of any shape or size. This stupendous rock was in the " neighbourhood of a large city, to whose best buildings " it must have, no doubt, contributed. Instead also of " turning arches for some of the bridges thereabouts, upright columns were erected, and connected by stones " from this superterrene quarry, some of which were " thirty feet in length; the uprights of other large stone " buildings were also carried from thence to different " places."

Among the instances of the peculiar attention of the Chinese to leave not the smallest spot of ground unoccupied that can be applied to any use, Captain Mackintosh observes, " that the grape vine, vast quantities " of which were produced in this country for food, tho

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Chu-san.

“ not pressed for wine, was generally planted on the  
“ sides of the canals ; and as they spread, small upright  
“ posts were driven in the water five or six feet from the  
“ bank, by which means that space was converted into  
“ a perfect harbour, without any expence of earth but  
“ what was immediately about the roots.” Ample provision is indeed made for the constant cultivation of the lands, by the forfeiture of such as are neglected to the sovereign, who grants them out anew to farmers willing to undertake their culture ; a tenure somewhat similar to that on which some mines are held in Derbyshire, by adventurers in such undertakings.

It sometimes happened in the route to Chu-san, that the waters of a higher canal passed immediately into another of a lower level ; and in two instances, the travellers were launched in their barges with prodigious velocity down the stream. This species of navigation is not managed by locks or flood-gates ; but a dam is made across the extremity of the upper canal, by means of a very strong and well compacted wall, the top of which is level with the surface of the upper water. A beam of wood is laid on the upper edge of the wall, which is rounded off towards the water. Beyond the wall a sloping plane, of stone work, extends to the lower canal, in the form of a glacis, with an inclination of about forty-five degrees, and descending near ten feet in perpendicular depth, at the bottom of which the canal is



carried as long as the level of the country will allow: when another wall and glacis, for another canal still lower, are constructed as before.

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In passing from an upper to a lower canal, the vessel lifted over the cross beam slides down by its own gravity; and to prevent the water from flushing over the decks, or her plunging into the canal below, a railing is fixed at the head of the vessel about to be launched, before which is placed strong matting, at the time of its descent. To draw up a large vessel from the lower canal along the glacis into the upper canal, requires sometimes the assistance of near a hundred men, whose strength is applied by the means of bars fixed in one or more capstans placed on the abutments, on each side of the glacis. Round the capstans is a rope, of which the opposite extremity is passed round the vessel's stern, which is thus conveyed into the upper canal with less delay than can be done by locks, but by the exertion of much more human force; a force indeed which, in China, is always ready, of little cost, and constantly preferred there to any other.

This method of passing from one canal to another over an inclined plane is delineated, as well as that through flood-gates, in the 34th plate of the folio volume.

After the Chu-san party had proceeded about three days, they arrived at the city of Loo-chung, where they changed their inland barges for junks of about sixty

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tons burden each, neatly fitted up for passengers, but constructed for salt-water navigation, and lying on a river into which the tide flowed beyond Loo-chung. “ Nothing could be more pleasing or romantic,” says Captain Mackintosh, “ than the scenes that offered as “ they sailed from thence to Nimpo near Chu-san, on a “ river of the breadth of the Thames between London “ and Woolwich, meandering through the most fertile “ vallies, bounded by hills of various forms and heights, “ and some stupendous mountains.”

On going ashore, Sun-ta-Zhin introduced the party to the principal mandarines of the district, to whose particular care he recommended them. He also gave strict directions that the Hindostan should be exempted from the usual duty, which is considerable upon foreign ships; and likewise that Captain Mackintosh and his officers should be allowed to purchase, duty free, whatever goods they chose as a cargo back to Europe: exemptions which he declared should equally extend to the port of Chu-san, and to that of Canton, as, indeed, they did, as far as related to the duties payable to the Emperor. Captain Mackintosh was anxious to receive Sun-ta-Zhin on board the Hindostan, lying in the harbour of Chu-san, in order to pay him such a compliment there as he really merited, and which would probably be acceptable to him; but that most respectable mandarine, already somewhat indisposed, and fearful of the odour of an English



vessel, and anxious likewise to return, quitted the party near Nimpo, after giving to each of the gentlemen some handsome presents on behalf of the Emperor, and shaking Colonel Benson and Captain Mackintosh heartily by the hand in the English manner, as a mark of his cordiality and good wishes for them. They reached the Hindostan next day, being near a week after they had quitted Han-choo-foo, which is distant from Chu-san about one hundred and fifty-six miles.

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The Ambassador and the Viceroy quitted Han-choo-foo very soon after Sun-ta-Zhin and the other party. The route to Canton lay upon the river Chen-tang-chaung, the course of which was from the south-west. While the Embassy proceeded through the city to the place of embarkation, umbrellas of ceremony, denoting dignity, were carried, for the first time, before it. Along the strand were drawn up two very considerable bodies of Tartar cavalry, in superb and varied dresses, and had a spirited and warlike appearance.

“ On most occasions, Captain Parish observes, “ The  
“ cavalry carry bows, which appear to be the weapon  
“ held highest in estimation. They are made of elastic  
“ wood, strengthened by horns which are connected in  
“ the centre by their roots, from whence they spring in  
“ distinct arches towards the extremities. The string is  
“ of silk threads laid together and firmly woulded. The  
“ strength of the bows vary from about sixty to one

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“ hundred pounds. The arrows are perfectly well  
“ turned and feathered. They are armed at the points  
“ with a shank and spear of steel. Both Chinese and  
“ Tartars value themselves on their skill in the use of  
“ this weapon. They hold it somewhat obliquely in  
“ the left hand. The string is placed behind an agate  
“ ring upon the right thumb, the first joint of which is  
“ bent forward and kept in that position by pressing the  
“ middle joint of the fore-finger upon it. In this situa-  
“ tion the string is drawn till the left arm is extended,  
“ and the right hand passes the right ear. The fore-  
“ finger is then withdrawn from the thumb, which in-  
“ stantly forces the string from the agate ring, and dis-  
“ charges the arrow with considerable force. This  
“ armour consisted of an helmet of iron, in the form of  
“ an inverted funnel: the crest corresponding to the  
“ pipe of the funnel, stands six or seven inches above  
“ the head, and terminates in a spear. It is surrounded  
“ by a red tassel. The neck is secured by a piece of  
“ cloth stuffed, quilted, and studded with iron, which  
“ hangs forward round the face. On the body is an  
“ upper and an under dress of cloth, also quilted and  
“ studded with iron; the latter reaches below the calves  
“ of the legs; the former only a little below the waist.  
“ This dress seemed to have the inconvenience, without  
“ the advantages, of armour. The officers had their hel-  
“ mets polished and ornamented with gold, with a



“ higher crest than those of the men. Their bodies were  
“ covered with purple or blue silk with studs of gold or  
“ gilt. Their boots were of black satin. Another descrip-  
“ tion of the troops are armed with swords only, whose  
“ dress is called the tiger dress. It is of yellow cloth with  
“ dark brown stripes, fitted to the shape ; the cap which  
“ nearly covers the face, is formed to represent the head  
“ of a tiger. They carry a shield of bamboo or rattan,  
“ painted hideously to represent dragons’ or tigers’  
“ heads with open mouths and enormous teeth ; and  
“ much stress is laid upon this terrific appearance. On  
“ each flank of the parade a trophy of wood was erected,  
“ painted or covered with pieces of silk or cotton of  
“ bright colours in festoons. Under these were the  
“ military mandarines. The music was in tents fitted  
“ for the purpose. The trumpets, apparently the pro-  
“ per military instrument, were very large. The usual  
“ compliment consisted of three distinct blasts.” In  
plate 19 of the folio volume, is a delineation of some of  
the instruments of war used by the Chinese.

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All the troops saluted the Embassador as he passed to  
the covered barge intended for him in this new route.  
Those barges were sharp built both fore and aft, flat bot-  
tomed, about twelve feet broad, and seventy feet in  
length. They sailed well with cotton sails, and drew  
very little water. One, inferior in decoration to that for  
the Viceroy, was at first prepared for his Excellency;

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but the Viceroy chose that there should be no sort of difference between them: saying, that “such a distinction “ would be more discreditable to him than to the Embassador.”

The number of craft of all kinds on the part of the river near the city was immense; but they were all conducted without confusion. The watermen were uncommonly expert, and it was not unusual to see a large boat entirely managed by one man, who rowed, sailed, steered, and smoked his pipe at the same time. He held the sheet or strong rope belonging to the sail with one hand, he steered the boat with the other, and with his foot he pulled an oar, which he feathered at every stroke as neatly as could be done by the hand. A strong example of economy of time and labour, as delineated in Plate 42 of the folio volume.

A brisk and favourable breeze enabled the barges to make no inconsiderable progress against the current of the river for some time without the aid of trackers. The Embassy passed by a military post, near which were displayed about a dozen iron guns, from two to four pounders, of a clumsy and heavy make; the thickness of the metal at the mouth being equal to the bore of the gun. They seemed scarcely fit for service, tho preserved at that time with great care, each under a wooden roof.

The river became soon contracted, and was carried through a defile formed between ranges of high hills,



whose sides were indented by deep glens separated from each other by narrow and parallel ridges of naked rock. Journey to  
Canton.  
A chain of granite mountains begins, indeed, at Hanchoo-foo, with a direction to the southward. The gates and pavement of the city are formed of granite taken from thence. The small intervening vallies were richly cultivated and highly picturesque. The succeeding scene exhibited the contrast of an extensive plain richly and variously cultivated on one side of the river, and on the other, mountains rising suddenly from the water, and apparently higher than any in Great Britain. The large-leaved chesnut, and purple-leaved tallow tree, grew in great abundance, and were opposed to the deep green of the towering larch, and the shining leaves of the thick and spreading camphor tree; young shrubs of which have been already mentioned to be growing in the botanic garden at Batavia. It is the only species of the laurel genus growing in China, and is there a large and valuable timber tree. It is used in the best buildings of every kind, as well as for masts of vessels; and bears too high a price to allow of any part except the branches being cut up for the sake of the drug, called also camphor, which it affords. This substance is obtained either by boiling the branches, twigs, and leaves, in water, upon the surface of which it is found swimming in the form of an oil; or adhering, in a glutinous form, to a wooden rod with which the boiling matter is constantly

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stirred. The glutinous mass is then mixed with clay and lime, and put into an earthen vessel, with another of the same size properly luted over it; the lower vessel being placed over a slow fire, the camphor gradually sublimes through the clay and lime, and adheres to the sides of the upper vessel, forming a cake of a shape corresponding to the cavity which received it. It is, however, less pure and much weaker than what is discovered in a solid state among the fibres of the trunk, as turpentine is found in different sorts of pines. In the great, but ill-peopled, island of Borneo, and also in Japan, the camphor tree is felled for the sole purpose of finding this costly drug in substance among the splinters of the trunk, in the same manner as other trees are felled in Louisiana, merely for collecting the fruit they bear upon their summits. The Borneo or Japan camphor is pure, and so very strong, as readily to communicate much of its odour and its virtues to other inspissated oils, which thus pass for real camphor; and this adulterated drug is sold by Chinese artists at a vastly lower price than they gave themselves for the genuine substance from Borneo or Japan. The tallow tree grows generally near, and the camphor further, from the banks of the river. Great quantities of the *arbor vitæ*, or thuya, grew to a prodigious height in the valley in which stands the city of Yen-choo-foo. The river beyond that place became so shallow, that tho the barges drew less than one foot water, it was necessary



for the bargemen to draw them forward by mere bodily strength ; and at length several of the peasants were employed in removing the pebbles covered with the green conferva, which formed the bottom of the river, in order to make an artificial channel for the passage of the barges. Those pebbles consisted chiefly of fragments of quartz and siliceous stones.

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While thus delayed, the boats were overtaken by two genteel young men who were curious to see the Ambassador, and followed him from Han-choo-foo. They were honoured themselves with the same office from the King of the Lequese islands. Their dress was a very fine sort of shawl, manufactured in their own country, dyed of a beautiful brown colour, and lined with the fur of squirrels ; the fashion was nearly Chinese. They wore turbans, one of yellow, the other of purple, silk, neatly folded round their heads. They had neither linen nor cotton in any part of their dress that could be perceived. These young men were well looking, tho of a dark complexion, well-bred, conversible and communicative. They had just arrived at Han-choo-foo in their way to Peking, where their chief sends delegates regularly every two years, charged to offer the tribute, and pay homage from their master, to the Emperor. They landed at the port of Emouy in the province of Fo-chen, which alone was open to those strangers. They understood Chinese ; but had also a proper language of their own.

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They said, that no European vessel had, to their recollection, ever touched at any of their islands; but that, should they come, they would be well received; that there was no prohibition against any foreign intercourse; that they had a fine harbour capable of admitting the largest vessels, at a little distance from their capital, which was considerable in extent and population; that they raised a coarse kind of tea; but far inferior to that of the Chinese; and had many mines of copper and iron; but none of gold or silver had been discovered.

From the geographical position of those islands, they should, if dependent, naturally belong to the Chinese or the Japanese. The latter were indifferent about them, but the former first sent an embassy to them to explore their strength and situation, and afterwards an expedition against them, which reduced them to a tributary state. Upon the decease of the prince, his successor receives a sort of investiture or confirmation from the Emperor of China.

In a short time after the Embassy proceeded on its journey, the hills receded somewhat from the river, which widened, and at the same time became less shallow. The vallies along the river were cultivated chiefly in sugar canes, then almost ripe, and about eight feet high. Those canes were then about a year's growth; and being longer jointed, with an equal diameter, contained probably more juice than those of the West Indies. The



joints of the former were generally about six inches in length, those of the latter seldom more than four. The cane plantations in China belonging to individuals, were of very little extent; and the expence of erecting sugar mills too heavy to have one upon each plantation. The business of extracting the juice of the cane, and of boiling it into sugar is, there, a separate undertaking from that of him who cultivated the plant. The boilers of sugar travel about the country, with a small apparatus sufficient for their purpose, but which a West India planter would consider as inefficacious and contemptible. It is not a matter of great difficulty to travel with this apparatus, as there are few plantations of which some part is not accessible by water-carriage. A few bamboo poles and mats, are deemed sufficient for a temporary building; within which, at one end, is fixed a large iron cauldron, with a fire-place and flue, and about the middle a pair of cylinders or rollers, fitted vertically in a frame. These are sometimes of hard wood, and frequently of stone. When of the former, about six or eight inches of the upper extremities are cut into oblique cogs, which work into each other; and, if of the latter, wooden collars with teeth in them are fastened round the upper extremities of the stones. Upon the top of the axis of one of the cylinders prolonged above the frame, are fixed two shafts or levers, curved in such a manner as to clear the frame in turning round the rollers; and to the end of these

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shafts are yoked two buffaloes, who moving round as in a common cattle mill, press the canes between the cylinders, and express their juice, which is conveyed through a tube into the cauldron. The canes, deprived of their juices, become fit fuel, by means of which those juices are boiled into a proper consistence for granulation. The boiler of sugar endeavours to enter into an agreement with several planters at a time, so that his works, erected near the centre of their several plantations, may serve them all without changing his establishment. During the time he is employed, the servants and children of the planter are busily engaged in carrying canes to the mill.

The canes are planted very regularly in rows; and the earth carefully heaped up about the roots. As in the West Indies, so in China, the people employed in the fields during this season, are observed to get fat and sleek, and many of the Chinese slaves and idle persons are frequently missing about the time that the canes become ripe, hiding themselves, and living altogether in the plantations. Under the roots of the canes is found a large white grub, which, fried in oil, is eaten as a dainty by the Chinese.

In the neighbourhood of the canes were likewise several groves of orange trees. Of the fruit of that tree there was a great variety in size and colour. Some smaller than the Portugal orange, and some as large as any pro-



duced in the West Indies ; but the sweetest and richest was a deep red orange, preferred to every other, and easily distinguishable by its pulp adhering to the rind only by a very few slight fibres. Most kinds of fruit were served to the travellers in profusion. The desert generally consisted of grapes, oranges, apples, pears, chesnuts, walnuts, pomegranates, melons, and a kind of dates. The Chinese want some European fruits, such as gooseberries, currants, raspberries, and olives ; but abound in others, such as the see-chee, and the lee-chee, which are not produced in Europe. The see-chee is a flat, soft, reddish fruit, with a smooth skin, containing a slight acid pulp, with a kernel in the middle. The fruit is of the size of a middling orange, and looks as if flattened by weight from a globular form. The lee-chee is not much bigger than a large cherry, with a skin full of soft prickles. The taste of the pulp is tart ; and it covers a kernel, in proportion, large. The lee-chee is often preserved, and in that state has somewhat of a sweet taste.

The pines which bear large cones have kernels much relished by the Chinese, as they are by the inhabitants of Italy. Every mountain, either too steep or too rocky to be applied to any other use, is planted to the top in various kinds of pines, but most generally with the larch, as preferred for the purposes of buildings.

On the sides and tops of earthen embankments divid-

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ing the garden grounds, and groves of oranges, the tea plant was for the first time seen growing like a common shrub scattered carelessly about. Of this interesting plant, there are not only so many drawings published in a variety of books of travels and of natural history, but also so many specimens of it are met growing in public and private gardens in divers parts of Europe, that it were superfluous to give a delineation of it in this work. In China, wherever it is regularly cultivated, it rises from the seed sown in rows, at the distance of about four feet from each other, in land kept free from weeds. It is seldom sown on flat or marshy ground, which is reserved for rice. Vast tracts of hilly land are planted with it, particularly in the province of Fo-chen. Its perpendicular growth is impeded, for the convenience of collecting its leaves, which is done first in spring, and twice afterwards in the course of the summer. Its long and tender branches spring up almost from the root without any intervening naked trunk. It is bushy like a rose tree, and the expanded petals of the flower bear some resemblance to that of the rose. Every information received concerning the tea plant concurred in affirming that its qualities depended both upon the soil in which it grew, and the age at which the leaves were plucked off the tree, as well as upon the management of them afterwards. The largest and oldest leaves, which are the least esteemed, and destined for the use of the lowest



classes of the people, are often exposed to sale with little previous manipulation, and still retaining that kind of vegetable taste which is common to most fresh plants, but which vanishes in a little time, whilst the more essential flavour, characteristic of each particular vegetable, remains long without diminution. The young leaves undergo no inconsiderable preparation before they are delivered to the purchaser. Every leaf passes through the fingers of a female, who rolls it up almost to the form it had assumed before it became expanded in the progress of its growth. It is afterwards placed upon thin plates of earthen ware or iron, made much thinner than can be executed by artists out of China. It is confidently said in the country, that no plates of copper are ever employed for that purpose. Indeed, scarcely any utensil used in China is of that metal, the chief application of which is for coin. The earthen or iron plates are placed over a charcoal fire, which draws all remaining moisture from the leaves, rendering them dry and crisp. The colour and astringency of green tea, is thought to be derived from the early period at which the leaves are plucked, and which, like unripe fruit, are generally green and acrid. The tea is packed in large chests lined with very thin plates of lead, and the dried leaves of some large vegetable. It is too true, that the tea is pressed down into those chests by the naked feet of Chinese labourers, as grapes are pressed by the wooden shoes of European

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peasants; in which last case, the juices are purified by the subsequent fermentation. Notwithstanding this uncleanly operation of Chinese packers, the upper ranks in China are as fond of tea as the people are, and particularly solicitous in their choice of it. That of a good quality is dearer in Peking than in London. It is sometimes made up into balls, as has been already mentioned. A strong black extract also, is frequently made from it. Many virtues are attributed to tea, which is in universal use throughout the empire. The warm infusion of any aromatic herb is, no doubt, likely to be grateful to persons exhausted by fatigue, frequently occasioning a violent perspiration; as well as to stomachs labouring with indigestion. One of the best qualities, perhaps, of it is that the taste for it and the habit of drinking it, at all times lessens the relish for fermented and inebriating liquors. The poor infuse the same leaves several times over. This plant is cultivated in several of the provinces of China, but seldom more northerly than thirty degrees beyond the Equator. It thrives best between that parallel and the line that separates the temperate from the torrid zone; tho it is to be found also in the Chinese province of Yunnan, to the southward of it. Several specimens of the tea plant, and of others chiefly cultivated in China, were procured by the Ambassador and sent to Bengal, in some parts of which his Excellency had been informed, were districts adapted for their cultivation. Such





*Camellia Sasanqua.*







immense quantities of tea are raised in China, that a sudden failure of a demand from Europe, would not be likely to occasion any material diminution of its price at the Chinese markets; tho it might be attended with inconvenience to the particular cultivators who are in the habit now of supplying the Canton merchants with that article for exportation.

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A plant very like the tea flourished, at this time, on the sides and the very tops of mountains, where the soil consisted of little more than fragments of stone, crumbled into a sort of coarse earth by the joint action of the sun and rain. The Chinese call this plant cha-whaw, or flower of tea, on account of the resemblance of one to the other; and because its petals, as well as the entire flowers of the Arabian jessamine are sometimes mixed among the teas, in order to increase their fragrance. This plant, the cha-whaw, is the *camellia sesanqua* of the botanists, and yields a nut, from whence is expressed an esculent oil equal to the best which comes from Florence. It is cultivated on this account in vast abundance; and is particularly valuable from the facility of its culture, in situations fit for little else. It is delineated on the opposite page.

From the river were seen several excavations, made in extracting from the sides of the adjoining hills, the pe-tun-tse, useful in the manufactory of porcelain. This material is a species of fine granite, or compound of

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quartz, feldspath, and mica, in which the quartz seemed to bear the largest proportion. It appears from several experiments, that it is the same as the growan-stone of the Cornish miners. The micaceous part in some of this granite from both countries, often contains some particles of iron, in which case it will not answer the potter's purpose. This material can be calcined and ground much finer by the improved mills of England, than by the very imperfect machinery of the Chinese, and at a cheaper rate, than the prepared pe-tun-tse of their own country, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour there.

The kao-lin, or principal matter mixed with the pe-tun-tse, is the growan-clay also of the Cornish miners. The wha-she of the Chinese is the English soap-rock; and the she-kan is asserted to be gypsum. It was related by a Chinese manufacturer in that article, that the asbestos or incombustible fossil stone, entered also into the composition of porcelain. A village or unwalled town called Kin-te-chin, was not very far distant from this part of the travellers' route, in which three thousand furnaces for baking porcelain, were said to be lighted at a time, which gave to the place, at night, the appearance of a town on fire. The genius or spirit of that element is, indeed, with some propriety, the principal deity worshipped there. The manufacture of porcelain is said to be precarious, from the want of some precise method of ascertaining and regulating the heat within



the furnaces, in consequence of which, their whole contents are baked sometimes into one solid and useless mass. Journey to  
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Mr. Wedgwood's thermometer, founded on the quality observed by him, and already mentioned in this work, of clay contracting in proportion to the degree of fire to which it is exposed, might certainly be of use to a Chinese potter.

After sailing a few days up the river Chen-tang-chaung, the weather, almost for the first time since the arrival of the Embassy in China, became wet and gloomy. The travellers had been long enough from England, to be surprised to see a day passing in November without any appearance of the sun. While they were on the grand canal, they sometimes experienced boisterous, but seldom rainy weather. The temperature of the air was likewise uncommonly cold, in a latitude less than thirty degrees from the equinoctial line. They were, indeed, in a country of mountains, between which the winds were hemmed in a narrow passage, and excited sensations of cold in consequence of their accelerated motion. It was also about the season of the change of the monsoons, which are constantly attended by violent storms of thunder, wind, and rain, extending even to this inland province. Fahrenheit's thermometer was sometimes in the day so low as forty-eight.

At the town of Chan-san-shen, the river ceased entirely to be navigable. This river takes its rise in a range

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of mountains which surround that town on several sides. Its whole course does not exceed two hundred miles ; being generally through a hilly and little frequented country ; and it has no communication with any considerable road, river, or canal, until it reaches Han-choo-foo. Fewer vessels of any kind are seen upon it, than in any other part of the empire where the Embassy had passed by water ; and, indeed, it was less adapted for navigation ; but even here, the remotest spot was cultivated and populous. Below Han-choo-foo the river was very much enlarged and crowded with vessels of every kind passing to and from the Eastern sea.

Another river takes its rise to the southward of the same mountains, on which the Embassy was to embark after passing by land over the intermediate space. The great road from Peking to Canton lay through Nan-kin, the ancient capital of the empire ; but the necessity of going to Han-choo-foo, between which and Canton the intercourse by land was rare, led the present travellers thro routes perhaps untrod by Europeans before. They had, therefore, a fair opportunity of observing the real state of some of the interior parts of the country.

The amicable visits between the Viceroy and the Ambassador were repeated in their covered barges, as well as on the day during which preparations were making for their journey by land. From the Viceroy's station as governor of two great provinces, and from his kin-



dred to the Emperor, no subject in China could be higher, or was entitled to more profound forms of respect from all other classes of Chinese; but his meek mind seemed to shun all show of superiority. He insisted both on Chow-ta-Zhin and Van-ta-Zhin sitting in his presence, who were thus enabled to assist at the interviews he had with his Excellency; nor was the Chinese interpreter under any constraint before him. He succeeded to Sun-ta-Zhin in a regular and almost daily correspondence with the Emperor, from whom he conveyed several gracious messages to the Ambassador. The conversation with the Viceroy turned frequently on the grievances to which foreigners, and particularly the English, were subjected at Canton. His natural benevolence disposed him to attend to such complaints; and Chow-ta-Zhin, whom he had taken into his confidence, and upon whose attachment the Ambassador had reason to rely, undertook to explain and press the matter to him in private. It might be advantageous, likewise, that the remonstrances thus made might, in the Viceroy's private dispatches written during the journey, reach his Imperial Majesty unmixed with other subjects.

The Viceroy and Ambassador were soon informed, that every thing was ready for pursuing their journey. Some little difficulty had, however, occurred in the preparations for it. So numerous a party had seldom passed that way. A proportionate number of horses were not

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easy to be found at once, in a country where none are used for agriculture, where the lowest classes of people travel on foot, and the highest in palanquins borne by men. The Ambassador's guards in their scarlet plumes, and with shining arms, were considered as gentlemen entitled to be carried. The Chinese thought it necessary, indeed, to provide some kind of carriage for every European belonging to the Embassy. The deficiency of horses was supplied by chairs, to which bamboo poles were fastened, and those poles carried on men's shoulders. Several of these men with their tattered garments, and straw hats and sandals, were however so meagre, and looked so much weaker than those they carried, that many of the latter, blushing at the contrast, quitted their vehicles and continued their route on foot. The road was first over rising grounds, and afterwards in narrow vallies, and through low and morassy rice grounds, over a causeway raised between two stone walls, and covered with fine gravel brought from the neighbouring mountains. No wheel carriages being used in this part of the country, the causeway was narrow, but perfectly smooth and level. To the southward of the road, were several round and steep conical hills detached from each other, covered with grass and shrubs, and of so regular a figure, and of so uniform a slope from the summit to the base, that they had the appearance of having been formed by art. They consisted of blue coarse-grained limestone.



Beyond these were quarries, out of which were dug stones beautifully white and shining. They consisted of quartz in its purest state, and were used in the manufacture of porcelain for pe-tun-tse by the Chinese.

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Throughout this short land journey, and far from all great roads, not a mile was travelled without a village; nor a spot observed, except mere rocks, or perpendicular heights, that was not under cultivation. The villages were not surrounded by walls, but were adorned with handsome gateways at their extremities. The rocky places appeared to have been denuded of the earth which had covered them formerly, in order to place it on a surface where it might become more conveniently a medium for the nutriment of plants. Where the face of the hill or mountain is not nearly perpendicular to the level surface of the earth, the slope is converted into a number of terraces one above another, each of which is supported by mounds of stone. By this management it is not uncommon to see the whole face of a mountain completely cultivated to the summit. These stages are not confined to the culture of any particular vegetable. Pulse, grain, yams, sweet potatoes, onions, carrots, turnips, and a variety of other culinary plants are produced upon them. A reservoir is sunk in the top of the mountain. The rain water collected in it is conveyed by channels successively to the different terraces placed upon the mountain's sides. In spots too rugged, barren, steep, or high

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for raising other plants, the camellia sesanqua, and divers firs, particularly the larch, are cultivated with success.

The collection of manure is an object of so much attention with the Chinese, that a prodigious number of old men and women, as well as of children, incapable of much other labour, are constantly employed about the streets, public roads, banks of canals and rivers, with baskets tied before them, and holding in their hands small wooden rakes to pick up the dung of animals, and offals of any kind that may answer the purpose of manure ; but above of all others, except the dung of fowls, the Chinese farmers, like the Romans, according to the testimony of Columella, prefer soil, or the matter collected by nightmen in London, in the vicinity of which it is, in fact, applied to the same uses ; as has already been alluded to in describing a visit to the Lowang peasant, in the first volume of this work. This manure is mixed sparingly with a portion of stiff loamy earth, and formed into cakes, dried afterwards in the sun. In this state it sometimes becomes an object of commerce, and is sold to farmers who never employ it in a compact state. Their first care is to construct large cisterns for containing, besides those cakes and dung of every kind, all sorts of vegetable matter, as leaves, or roots, or stems of plants, mud from the canals, and offals of animals, even to the



shavings collected by the barbers. With all these they mix as much animal water as can be collected, or of common water, as will dilute the whole; and in this state, generally in the act of putrid fermentation, they apply it to the ploughed or broken earth. In various parts of a farm, and near paths and roads large earthen vessels are buried to the edge in the ground for the accommodation of the labourer or passenger who may have occasion to use them. In small retiring houses built also upon the brink of roads, and in the neighbourhood of villages, reservoirs are constructed of compact materials to prevent the absorption of whatever they receive, and straw is carefully thrown over the surface from time to time to stop the evaporation. And such a value is set upon the principal ingredient for manure, that the oldest and most helpless persons are not deemed wholly useless to the family by which they are supported.

The quantity of manure collected by all these means, must however be still inadequate to that of the cultivated ground, which bears so vast a proportion to the whole surface of the country. It is reserved therefore, in the first instance, for the purpose of procuring a quick succession of culinary vegetables, and for forcing the production of flowers and fruit. Among the vegetables raised most generally and in the greatest quantities is a species or variety of brassica, called by the Chinese

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Pe-tsai, or white herb, which is of a delicate taste, somewhat resembling what is called coss-lettuce, and is much relished in China by foreigners as well as natives. Whole acres of it are planted every where in the vicinity of populous cities; and it was sometimes difficult to pass on a morning through the crowds of wheel-barrows and hand-carts loaded with this plant going into the gates of Peking and Han-choo-foo. It seems to thrive best in the northern provinces, where it is salted for winter consumption, and in that state is often carried to the southward and exchanged for rice. That grain and that herb, together with a relish of garlick or of onions, in room of animal food, and followed by a little infusion of coarse tea, serve often as a meal for a Chinese peasant or mechanic. The Chinese husbandman always steeps the seeds he intends to sow in liquid manure, until they swell, and germination begins to appear, which experience, he says, has taught him to have the effect of hastening the growth of plants, as well as of defending them against the insects hidden in the ground in which the seeds were sown. Perhaps this method has preserved the Chinese turnips from the fly that is often fatal to their growth elsewhere. To the roots of plants and fruit trees the Chinese farmer applies liquid manure likewise, as contributing much towards forwarding their growth and vigour. The Roman author, already quoted in this chapter relates, that a similar



practice had much improved the apples and vines of Italy.

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The great object of Chinese agriculture, the production of grain, is generally obtained with little manure, and without letting the land lie fallow. It is true, that there are plants, such as a species of the epidendron, that is capable of vegetating in air alone. Others, as bulbous roots and succulent plants, which thrive best in sand, and a great variety in water; but with those exceptions, virgin or vegetable earth is the proper bed of vegetation; and whatever may be the theory of the agricultural art, its practice certainly requires that there should be given to the soil such a texture and consistency as may be found most suitable to the plants intended to be raised. Such a texture may, in most cases, be obtained by the application of manures, being generally a mixture of animal and vegetable substances that have undergone the putrefactive fermentation. A mucilage is thus formed which, besides any other changes it may produce, is found to give a new consistence to the soil with which it comes in contact, to render clay more friable, and to give tenacity to light and sandy soils; as well as to maintain in both a proper degree of temperature and humidity.

A mixture of earths in due proportion has been sometimes substituted with success in the deficiency of manure. Thus marl, which is generally a composition

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of calcareous earth and clay, and of itself unfavourable to vegetation, has been found to act in certain soils as excellent manure ; and a surface of strong loamy clay may, with addition of sand and water, be rendered an advantageous medium for the support of vegetable life.

The Egyptians were early acquainted with the benefits that arise from giving a due degree of consistency to the soil. To this end they regularly strewed a quantity of sand upon the lands which the sediment deposited by the inundations of the Nile had rendered rich and adhesive to excess. Sea sand is likewise the best addition for this purpose ; for salt, which is so well known, and used, on account of its antiseptic qualities, when employed in a large proportion, and is then injurious to the fertility of all soils, produces contrary effects when sparingly strewed upon animal or vegetable substances ; as is the case in the particles of sea sand, when it tends to promote the putrefactive fermentation, which is favourable to vegetation.

By practices similar to all these, the Chinese supply the deficiency of manure. In suiting the texture of the soil to the nature of the plant to be raised from it, they, indeed, are indefatigable. They are constantly changing earth from one piece of ground to another ; mixing sand with that which they find to be too adhesive ; and clay or loam where the soil appears too loose ; and having thus given to their land the consistency it required,



their next care is to prevent it from becoming dry and rigid, that the circulation of the juices may not be obstructed. Almost every part of the country being intersected by rivers and canals, abundance of water is always near at hand; and it remained only for them to contrive the means of conveying as much of it as was necessary to the planted grounds. And thus they reap full and constant crops without fallowing, and sometimes without manure.

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The irrigation of lands in China is reduced to a system, and is considered as a leading principle of agricultural skill. Besides the methods of lifting and conveying water already mentioned, as practised among the husbandmen of China, another, more effectual, and ingenious, is their chain pump. The machine of that name so common now in an improved state on board of English ships of war, differs principally from the Chinese pump, in the circumstance of the European pump being worked thro cylindrical chambers, whereas in China they are universally square. Most Eastern nations seem to have been acquainted at an early period with the machine for raising water, known by the name of the Egyptian wheel, which was however unknown in Europe till the Saracens introduced it into Spain, in an imperfect state, and under a very awkward form; being little more than wisps of hay tied to a rope which turned upon a wheel; one part of which being immersed in the water, each

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wisp imbibed a portion of that fluid, and discharged it at the upper surface of the wheel; but the Chinese pump consists of a hollow wooden trunk, divided in the inside along the middle by a board into two compartments. Flat and square pieces of wood, corresponding exactly to the dimensions of the cavity of the trunk, are fixed to a chain which turns over a roller or small wheel placed at each extremity of the trunk. The square pieces of wood fixed to the chain move with it round the rollers, and lift up a volume of water equal to the dimensions of the hollow trunk, and are therefore called the lifters. The power used in working this machine is applicable in three different ways. If the machine be intended to lift a great quantity of water, several sets of large wooden arms are made to project from various parts of the lengthened axis of the rollers, over which the chain and lifters turn. Those arms are shaped like the letter T, and made round and smooth for the foot to rest upon. The axis turns upon two upright pieces of wood, kept steady by a pole stretched across them. The machine being fixed, men, treading upon the projecting arms of the axis, and supporting themselves upon the beam across the uprights, communicate a rotatory motion to the chain, the lifters attached to which draw up a constant and copious stream of water. This manner of working the chain pump is illustrated by the opposite engraving; and is applied to the purpose of draining grounds,



transferring water from one pond or cistern to another, or raising it to small heights out of rivers or canals.

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Another method of working this machine is by yoking a buffalo or other animal to a large horizontal wheel, connected by cogs with the axis of the rollers, over





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which the lifters turn. This mode was observed by the present travellers only at Chu-san.

A small machine of this kind is worked merely by the hand, with the assistance of a trundle and simple crank, such as are applied to a common grindstone, and fixed to one end of the axis of the chain pump. This last method is general throughout the empire. Every labourer is in possession of such a portable machine. An implement to him not less useful than a spade to an European peasant. The making of those machines gives employment to a great number of artificers.

Through the whole of this short land journey, not a spot was seen that was not cultivated with industry. The soil in many places was indifferent; but the people were in proportion active in their efforts to fertilize it. On the small terraces, the hoe served the purpose of a plough in turning up the soil. The husbandry is singularly neat; not a weed to be seen. The Chinese are said to use the drill plough in some of the provinces; but the plough which the present travellers had an opportunity of observing, was the simplest possible. It is drawn by a single buffalo, and managed by a single person. It has, as appears in the engraving, page 363, but one handle, and no coulter, which is deemed unnecessary, as there is no lea ground, and consequently no turf to cut through in China.

Tho inns are common in the great roads of China, so



few travellers passed through this part of the country, that no houses of that kind were to be found which were thought fit for the reception of the Embassy, in the town where they arrived at night. It was situated upon the banks of the river, where the party was to embark the next day. The public building in which the young men of the district were examined for their degrees, was now provided for the strangers; and it was quickly rendered sufficiently commodious for that purpose.

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The examinations of students for degrees are said to be always public. The body of auditors who attend, as well as the presence of the governor and chief magistrates of the district, who preside, must awe any disposition to partiality in the judges. Some oral questions are put, and some are given in writing, to the candidates, as in English colleges. The rewards of those who succeed, are not confined to the honours of the university; for these become the ascending steps which lead to all the offices and dignities of the state. Even those who fail in the main pursuit, have, in the prosecution of the contest, made such acquirements as fit them for useful avocations, and add to the general mass of knowledge in society. A method also of advancement so open to all classes of men, tends to reconcile them to the power, from attaining which no individual is precluded. Tho the opulent youth have no doubt greater facilities and better oppor-

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tunities of instruction, than the children of the poor, yet genius may have occasionally the strength to counterbalance such disparity ; and at any rate, the possibility of success is an enjoyment even to those who are never likely to obtain it. The general persuasion, likewise, that authority has been acquired thro merit, must contribute to insure respect and obedience to it, unless a gross abuse of it should take place ; against which the possession of abilities and knowledge is not always a security. Such a system of government promises indeed great benefits to society ; and can fail only when the temptation to do evil is greater than the strength of principle and the risk of being detected in the sacrifice of it. The poor and private individuals in China, who have no means of communicating their complaints, or declaring their sentiments on the conduct of their particular rulers, are left in great measure at their mercy ; and foreigners, when in the same predicament, are equally liable to suffer. The Ambassador therefore took every opportunity, which his acquaintance with the Viceroy, and the latter's own honourable disposition furnished him, of impressing upon his mind the necessity of his protecting the strangers at Canton from the oppressions of the Hop-po or collector of the customs, and other inferior officers connected with the commerce of that port. The Viceroy was guarded in his promises, but seemed sincere in his intentions of doing all the good he could.



Upon a subsequent visit, the Viceroy said to the Ambassador that he was well aware of the pains that would be taken to impress his mind against the British nation by many of the people he was going to govern ; but that he thought not only justice to the English, but the honour of his country required a change in its conduct towards them. Yet considerable as was the authority intrusted to him, and firm as his footing might be supposed, his situation was not without its difficulties. Beside the men in office at Canton, interested in preventing the redress of the grievances occasioned by themselves, and accustomed to treat foreigners with contempt as well as with injustice ; they had also prejudiced enemies at court, particularly his own predecessor, who might consider reform, as a censure upon him who had suffered the abuse : but beside all these, another consideration of weight dwelt upon his mind ; for he was aware of the peremptory style in which requests, made by his Excellency at Peking, had been refused by the prime minister Ho-choong-taung. He knew not how such a refusal might be represented by the Ambassador to the court of Great Britain ; but that if he endeavoured to excite resentment there, any future appearances of such resentment against his country would render the Viceroy criminally answerable in the eyes of his own government, for any favour shewn by him to the English in the mean time ; and that he wished to be perfectly satisfied

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in that respect. The Ambassador was not quite certain that this apprehension had sprung from the Viceroy's own mind. It might have arisen from a still higher source ; but, at any rate, it was an indication, that from a sense of the English land forces in India, and of their strength every where by sea, the British nation was felt to be too powerful not to require some management towards it, even from the proud empire of China. His Excellency acknowledged to the Viceroy that he had entertained some doubts of the disposition of the court or ministers of Peking towards his country ; but in consequence of the explanations which the Emperor's minister who accompanied him to Han-choo-foo, as well as he, the Viceroy, gave him of his Imperial Majesty's real sentiments ; he relied on the assurances that were thus solemnly made to him of a particular attention to the interests of the British subjects in China, and had expressed already this reliance in the accounts which he had transmitted of his negotiation from Han-choo-foo to the English government, which, he doubted not, would confide in the accomplishment of the promises made to him. The Viceroy then asked the Ambassador if he could authorize him to promise a proof of the continuance of this good disposition, by the King's writing soon to his Imperial Majesty, and by sending again a minister to China, if the Emperor were disposed to allow of such, not with the parade and expence of the present Embassy,



but simply as a testimony of the subsisting friendship of his Britannic Majesty. To this unexpected proposal, his Excellency ventured to answer by saying, that the King would probably have no difficulty in writing to the Emperor, to acknowledge the presents sent by him, and to thank him for the honourable reception of the Embassy: a circumstance distinct from the objects of it, all of which he still hoped might be brought about in time; but that the distance of the two empires from each other, and the uncertainty of sea voyages rendered it impracticable to ascertain the period of the arrival of a new Embassy. The Viceroy concluded the conversation by saying, that he would immediately dispatch a courier to court, to relate the substance of the conference; together with such suggestions from himself as would, he trusted, give perfect satisfaction to the Emperor on all points.

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The party had scarcely embarked anew, when the violence of the wind and rain either retarded or entirely stopped their progress. After the showers had ceased, their effect in swelling the river still continued, and its current being favourable, they proceeded rapidly along the stream. About the city of Koang-sin-foo the weather was again wet, cold, and gloomy. The country had also a rude appearance. On each bank of the river were sometimes large masses of naked rock, of vast height, and resembling the rough scenes of nature which had

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been deemed to be exaggerated in Chinese drawings. The rock was a kind of dark red freestone, of which regular pieces were sometimes cut out for building, as from a quarry.

The river was become now so large and deep, that the covered barges of the Embassy, necessarily used in shallow water, were changed for larger and more convenient yachts.

Whenever the wind was contrary, or the course of the river winding, or the progress of the vessels of the Embassy otherwise retarded, it was usual for several of the gentlemen belonging to it, to quit their vessels in order to walk along the banks of the rivers or canals; or to strike across the country, in order to observe whatever objects offered to their view, and to obtain every information they were able. Two of the gentlemen, who seldom failed to take such excursions every day, were once very rudely interrupted by a mandarine attended by some insolent soldiers, and who ordered the strangers to return on board, threatening to send them there by force, unless they would immediately comply. Chow-ta-Zhin and Van-ta-Zhin, who heard of the circumstance, had the soldiers laid flat on the floor and held by some of the military attendants, while others were ordered to strike them with a piece of slit bamboo: a punishment usual in China for small offences; and a representation of which may be seen in a part of



Plate 31 of the folio volume: but the persons who were ill treated succeeded in obtaining for the soldiers a remission of that sentence. Chow-ta-Zhin, however, lodged a complaint before the Viceroy against the mandarine, who was the principal offender; who could have been actuated in the present instance by no other motive than that of making a wanton abuse of his authority, against persons whom he imagined, as foreigners, to be without protection. Little chance of a mild exertion of power could the unprotected peasants have in the district where that man commanded; but the Viceroy put an end to such command by depriving him of his office, and had likewise corporal punishment inflicted on him.

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The punishment of the bamboo, however degrading it must appear to an European, is ordered upon a very summary hearing upon any individual, not in the rank of mandarines; and a viceroy has not only the power of degrading lower officers, but of directing, without the regular form of a trial, any punishments not capital on inferior officers. A great proportion of the Chinese are so lowered to their condition, that in those punishments they feel little more than the mere corporal sufferings occasioned by them. The obvious object of the government, in seeking to maintain the general tranquillity and welfare, seems to have overlooked all precautions for the personal security of individuals. A court of justice is established for trying persons accused of crimes

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deserving death ; but no jury is empannelled to try the fact. The judges lay little stress on oral evidence, unless corroborated by concomitant circumstances, or written documents ; tho on lighter charges the accused is suffered to purge himself by an oath administered in a solemn manner, and accompanied by religious ceremonies. Yet torture has been sometimes practised, for the purpose of extorting confession, or the names of accomplices. This practice is the more impolitic in those who order it, as no prudence or innocence can be certain of guarding themselves always against suspicion and accusation ; and consequently against suffering an evil worse than death, for the purpose of ascertaining the existence of a crime which is expiated by the sentence, comparatively milder, of the loss of life.

It seldom happens that a capital sentence is inflicted without the confirmation of the Emperor ; but it takes place sometimes by order of the viceroy of the province in cases of emergency, such as rebellion or sedition. If the occasion will permit, criminals for execution are all transferred to Peking, where a revision of the sentence is had before the great tribunal allotted for that purpose ; and the usages of the empire, which suppose the sovereign to be endowed with every principle of humanity, require that he should formally consult his council, to know whether he can, without danger to the state, avoid ordering the sentence to be executed.



The execution of all capital criminals takes effect at the same time; and the number, seldom above two hundred, is very small for so vast and populous an empire. In most cases, indeed, fine and imprisonment, flagellation and exile are the usual inflictions, except in crimes against the state or Emperor, or in cases of blood, which admit of no pardon or commutation; nor is there any distinction between murder and manslaughter. Theft is never punished with death; nor is robbery, unless the act be accompanied with personal injury and cruelty. The moderation of those punishments seems to imply the infrequency of the offence; and the fact is really so, except where famine rages, in which case no severity of punishment will prevent the commission of the crime.

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The attention of the Chinese government, however provident and laudable, and its general regulations, however benevolent and wise, being confined to the measure of procuring supplies from its own provinces, and those not always carried faithfully into execution, are not found to be equal in their effects to those of the interested and judicious watchfulness of speculative merchants in the European world, for relieving the actual or impending wants of individuals; and famine rages oftener in a Chinese province, than in an European kingdom.

In the variety of capital punishments, strangulation is deemed less infamous than decapitation. The separation of any part of the body from the remainder being con-

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sidered as particularly disgraceful. The punishment of the *cha*, usually called by Europeans the *cangue* is generally inflicted for petty crimes. It consists of an enormous tablet of wood with a hole in the middle to receive the neck, and two smaller ones for the hands of the offender. It is a kind of permanent and ambulatory pillory, which the culprit is sentenced sometimes to wear for weeks or months together. He is suffered, provided his strength will enable him, to walk about ; but he is generally glad, for the support of this awkward and degrading burden, to lean against a wall or a tree. If a servant or a runner of the civil magistrate takes it into his head that the culprit has rested too long, he beats him with a whip made of leather thongs till he rises. Plate 28 of the folio volume exhibits a wretch thus loaded, while his friend is remonstrating, and his wife and children soliciting an attendant soldier to suffer him to remain at rest a little longer.

Instances are reported to have happened where an offender has been allowed to hire another person to undergo punishment in his room. The law, of which the maxims are rational and just, does certainly not allow it, tho the dispensers of it may ; and the piety of a son may, more in China than elsewhere, impel him to suffer pain to save a father from it.

The order and administration of the jails are said to be remarkably good. The debtor and felon are confined



in separate places, without being permitted to approach each other, as it is thought both impolitic and immoral to associate guilt with imprudence or misfortune, by a promiscuous imprisonment. The two sexes are likewise kept carefully apart. Confinement for debt is only temporary; but if after the delivery of all a debtor's property to his creditors, the demands against him are still unsatisfied, he is liable, besides, to wear a neck yoke in public for a certain period, in order to induce his family, if able, to discharge the debt, and thus put an end to the disgrace. If his insolvency had been incurred by gaming, or other improper conduct, he is subject to corporal punishment, and exile into Tartary.

A man may sell himself in China in certain cases, such as to discharge a debt to the crown, or to assist a father in distress, or if dead, to bury him in due form. If his conduct in servitude should be unimpeachable, he is entitled to his liberty at the end of twenty years. If otherwise, he continues a slave for life, as do his children, if he had included them in the original agreement. The Emperor's debtors, if fraudulently such, are strangled; if merely by misfortunes, their wives and children and property of every kind, are sold; and they are sent themselves to the new settlements in Tartary.

In China the interests of the Emperor are always made the first object. No property can be secure against his claims. The preference thus given to the possessor of

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unlimited power may be considered as the natural consequence of it. Some justification of this preference may likewise be derived from the consideration, that he who is most liable to frauds, ought to have the most effectual means of guarding against, and punishing, the commission of them.

Disputes amongst individuals concerning property do not fill up a large space in the transaction of Chinese affairs. The anxiety of doing justice has not led in that country to the multiplication of forms, and of pleadings in their courts. Years are not spent in the decision of a suit, during the suspension of which less attention can be paid to other objects. However it ends, the mind soon loses sight of the event; and passes to other efforts and considerations. Property, beside, whether real or personal, is held by tenures too simple to occasion much difference of opinion as to the right to it. There are no entails nor settlements. The little commerce they maintain with foreigners, and the uniformity of their own principles, customs, and opinions; but above all the union which exists in families, among whom elsewhere the exclusive rights of individuals occasion the greatest feuds; and the sort of community, in which most of them continue in China, cut off the principal sources of dissension. The halls of audience are, in fact, more engaged in solicitations than in contests. Men of talents and learning are employed sometimes to support the



cause of others who are young, ignorant, or incapable; but there is no particular order of men who subsist in affluence, as lawyers and attornies; or who arrive at dignities like the former. The impartiality of the judge, is endeavoured to be secured by appointing no man to that office in the province of which he is a native; but tho he may not lean, from affection, to the one of the parties, he is liable to be swayed by the weight of presents. Such offerings are universal from an inferior to a superior, and from a pleader to his judge, in China, as well as in most countries in the East. They are paid by both contending parties; and if each of these were equally rich, and equally liberal; it is possible that justice might be still fairly pronounced between them, in like manner as it is in the British courts of law, notwithstanding the regular fees arising to the judge from the proceedings on both sides. The great expensiveness of law-suits might even then, indeed, become an instrument of oppression in the hands of him who was at the same time wealthy and unjust; but, what is worse, the Chinese fees, or presents, are not precisely ascertained; and it is even expected, that those offerings should be proportioned to the opulence of the donor. If such donations were a necessary requisite of office, as some Chinese judges certainly consider them, without having any influence upon the decision of the cause, the greater amount expected from the rich might operate as a check upon any

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disposition in them to harass their poorer neighbours with vexatious suits; but it is asserted that, in fact, money is the grand instrument of decision in the Chinese courts, which generally find reason at the bottom of the longest purse. The dispensers of justice are not placed in China above temptation, by the amount of their salaries, which would render the acceptance of presents as unnecessary as they are improper.

The influx of silver from Europe into China, within a century has occasioned a great increase in the price of all articles of consumption, and has altered the proportion between the fixed salaries of the several officers of government, and the usual expences of their respective stations. The ancient missionaries mention in their accounts, the extreme cheapness of living at that time in China; but many of the necessaries of life are not now lower than in England.

An occasion happens of partiality in all differences between Tartars and Chinese, when it could scarcely be expected that the balance of justice would be held with an equal hand between the conquerors and the conquered. This inconvenience is little felt, however, in the southern provinces, where the travellers were now pursuing their route. Few Tartars were to be found there except such as filled considerable employments, whose leaning towards individuals of their own nation, there was consequently but little opportunity of betray-



ing. There was not, for example, a single Tartar settled in the neighbourhood of Koang-sin-foo, where the badness of the weather detained the travellers for a day. The neighbouring country was inundated in great measure, and cultivated chiefly in rice. Several rice mills on the river shewed that the grain was more frequently reduced into flour in that province than to the northward, where no such erections were observed. Many people were also employed in fishing, and others busily engaged in gathering the berries of the tallow tree, which at this season are ripe, and beginning to expand like the pods of the cotton shrub.

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The travellers, taking a course a little to the north-west, for the convenience of water-carriage, entered soon into that great extent of flat and swampy land, in the midst of which is the Poyang lake, being the largest collection of waters within the Chinese dominions. For the distance of some miles, indeed, on every side of it, the face of the country is one wild and morassy waste, covered with reeds and rushes, and entirely inundated for a part of the year. Not a village is to be seen; nor any traces of habitation visible, except now and then a mean and solitary hut for the residence of a fisherman, so situated sometimes as to be approached only by a boat. These wretched beings subsist by fishing, and by raising vegetables on hurdles of bamboo resting upon marshes, or floating upon the surface of the water.

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The lake Poyang and the adjacent country may literally be termed the common sewer of China. Rivers flow into it from most points of the compass. Several canals have been formed from it, and inclosed within high banks for the security of vessels in the season of tempests and inundations. The billows of the lake, indeed, rise sometimes to such a height as to render it, in the opinion of the Chinese mariners, as dangerous as the sea. In the lake were scattered small sandy islands just peeping above the surface of the water, and covered with humble dwellings, the abodes of fishermen.

The Poyang, after having collected the waters of several rivers, empties itself into the Yang-tse-kiang, and contributes in no small degree to the magnitude of that stream.

In the journey thro the swampy grounds which lay for several miles to the southward of the Poyang, the habitations and the resources of the people were still the same as in the eastern neighbourhood of the lake. Each inhabitant seemed to have his own fishing grounds. Their ponds were divided into small portions, in which their fish were bred and fattened. Some of them were a small species like sprats, which dried and salted, become an object of commerce throughout the empire. Besides the various methods already mentioned to be practised for catching fish in China, there is another in general use, which is that of stretching out a net on four



pieces of bamboo, and suspended by a long pole, as in the hand of the figure sitting on the bank of the river, in the fore ground of Plate 38 of the folio volume.

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Water fowl are particularly plenty in this part of the country, and form a part of its resources. They are caught by various stratagems; but as they are never openly molested, or alarmed by the explosion of gunpowder, they are remarkably tame and familiar. The common white-necked crow of China, *corvus dauricus*, will suffer itself to be approached within two or three yards before it commences to take wing.

As the country receded from the Poyang, and the travellers got out of the province of Kiang-nan into that of Kiang-see, the prospect became more pleasant, and the lands more fertile. The usual populousness recurred. The progress of the Embassy was however slow, and the yachts were now moving against the current of a rapid river which came from the south-west. Inundated fields were here succeeded by extensive plantations of the sugar-cane. To apply the system of irrigation to those plantations, which were on a sandy soil far elevated above the river, it was necessary to raise the water to heights which could not be attained by the means hitherto mentioned to be practised by the Chinese. But the want suggested the resource; and a machine was invented by them, as ingenious in its contrivance,

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as it was cheap in its materials, easy in its operation, and effectual to its purpose.

Two hard-wood posts or uprights were firmly fixed in the bed of the river, in a line perpendicular to its bank. These posts supported the axis, about ten feet in length, of a large and durable wheel, consisting of two unequal rims, the diameter of one of which, closest to the bank, being about fifteen inches shorter than that of the outer rim; but both dipping in the stream, while the opposite segment of the wheel rises above the elevated bank. This double wheel is connected with the axis, and is supported by sixteen or eighteen spokes obliquely inserted near each extremity of the axis, and crossing each other at about two-thirds of their length. They are there strengthened by a concentric circle, and fastened afterwards to the rims: the spokes inserted in the interior extremity of the axis, reaching the outer rim, and those proceeding from the exterior extremity of the same axis, reaching the inner and smaller rim. Between the rims and the crossings of the spokes, is woven a kind of close basket-work, serving as ladle-boards or floats, which meeting successively the current of the stream, obey its impulse, and turn round the wheel. To both its rims are attached small tubes or spouts of wood, with an inclination of about twenty-five degrees to the horizon, or to the axis of the wheel. The tubes are closed at their outer extremity, and open at the



opposite end. By this position, the tubes which happen in the motion of the wheel to be in the stream with their mouths or open ends uppermost, fill with water. As that segment of the wheel rises, the mouths of the tubes attached to it, alter their relative inclination, but not so much as to let their contents flow out, till such segment of the wheel becomes the top. The mouths of those tubes are then relatively depressed, and pour the water into a wide trough placed on posts, from whence it is conveyed as may be wanted among the canes. The forty-fourth Plate of the folio volume, with references to explanations underneath, will supply and render intelligible whatever may be deficient or obscure in the present description.

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The only materials employed in the construction of this water-wheel, except the nave or axis, and the posts on which it rests, are afforded by the bamboo. The rims, the spokes, the ladle-boards or floats, and the tubes or spouts, and even the cords, are made of entire lengths, or single joints, or large pieces, or thin slices, of the bamboo. Neither nails, nor pins, nor screws, nor any kind of metal enters into its construction. The parts are bound together firmly by cordage, also of slit bamboo. Thus at a very trifling expence, is constructed a machine which, without labour or attendance, will furnish, from a considerable depth, a reservoir with a constant supply of water adequate to every agricultural purpose.

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These wheels are from twenty to forty feet in diameter, according to the height of the bank, and consequent elevation to which the water is to be raised. That, from which the Plate referred to had been taken, was about thirty feet. Such a wheel is capable of sustaining with ease twenty tubes or spouts, of the length of four feet, and diameter two inches in the clear. The contents of such a tube, would be equal to six-tenths of a gallon, and a periphery of twenty tubes, twelve gallons. A stream of a moderate velocity would be sufficient to turn the wheel at the rate of four revolutions in one minute, by which would be lifted forty-eight gallons of water in that short period; in one hour, two thousand eight hundred and eighty gallons; and sixty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty gallons, or upwards of three hundred tons of water, in a day.

This wheel is thought to exceed, in most respects, any machine yet in use for similar purposes. The Persian wheel, with loose buckets suspended to the edges of the rim or fellies of the wheel, so common in the south of France and in the Tyrol, approaches nearest to the Chinese wheel; but is vastly more expensive, and less simple in its construction, as well as less ingenious in the contrivance. In the Tyrol, there are also wheels for lifting water, with a circumference of wood hollowed into scoops; but they are much inferior either to the Persian or Chinese wheel.



The bamboo is a curious and beautiful as well as a valuable plant. It is properly a reed, hollow, and generally jointed. It is supposed to flourish most in dry grounds in the neighbourhood of running water. Its growth is quick, attaining its height, not often more than twenty feet, in about eighteen months. It has the properties, so seldom united, of being equally light and solid. It rises out of the ground with a trunk, of which the diameter contracts as its length increases, in the manner of some, at least, of the palm tribe. The branches of the bamboo are few, and of a light shining green, the leaves long and delicate. Within the hollow of its joints is sometimes found a singular substance, considered in some countries as a medicine, according to the relation of a learned traveller, and proved by an ingenious chemist, to be of a siliceous nature. The Chinese reckon above sixty varieties of the bamboo, and apply it, perhaps, to as many uses. Besides its utility in buildings ashore and upon the water, in almost all kinds of furniture, and in the pulp made from its substance into paper, its tendersprouts are relished as an article of food. It is only within a few years that the bamboo has been introduced into several of the West India islands, where it has been found to be one of the most valuable presents that could be offered to them.

Plantations of the bamboo abounded in the province of Kiang-see, in several spots adjoining to the river on

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which the Embassy was now embarked. With the large camphor tree, which grew at a little more distance from the river, was sometimes mixed one of a still greater size, a species of the ficus, or Chinese yangshoo, of which the branches spread horizontally to such an extent, that one tree may be almost sufficient to cover half an acre of land. The vallies between the river and the mountains were not extensive; but the country could scarcely be more populous if a plain. Many manufactories of coarse earthen ware, as well as of fine porcelain were interspersed in the province of Kiangsee. In some places the mountains rose immediately from the river, into which huge rocks had fallen from the steep sides of the mountains. The stream of the river rolling over them with impetuosity, has sometimes occasioned accidents, the recollection of which induced the Chinese navigators to renew, before they attempted passing them, the same sort of sacrifices which are described on passing the Yellow river.

Beyond the rocks, the smooth water was almost covered with small boats, in each of which was one or two of the fishing birds. Those boats are so small and light that the fishermen carry them often, as appears in the engraving, page 389, on their shoulders, from one lake to another, together with the bird which serves as the instrument by which the fish is caught. Sometimes the fisherman and his bird rest, in lieu of



boats, on small rafts, consisting of five bamboos tied together.

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In this southern province, fields of wheat just springing out of the ground, were to be found in the vicinity of the tall sugar-cane, now nearly fit for the mill. In this province, the women of the lower rank are freed from the prejudice of little feet; and are so remarkably robust and laborious, that peasants of other provinces have been known to come to purchase what they call, a working wife, in Kiang-see. A farmer in that province has been seen to drive, with one hand, a plough, to which his wife was yoked, while he sowed the seed with the other hand in drills. The soil, indeed, was loose, and the plough of very light materials and construction; the task imposed upon the woman appeared to an European eye altogether unbecoming, when not borne equally by the other sex. The wives were distinguished from the maidens, by the latter allowing the hair near the forehead to hang down towards the eyebrows, while the former had all theirs bound together upon the crown of the head.

Farms are generally let for three, five, or seven years, resumable by the landlord, or relinquishable by the tenant, at the end of any of those terms, according to the contract. In general, the owner divides the crop with the cultivator. The latter has his share entire. The former pays out of his, the Emperor's tax, which is considered to be always the same whether the season be plentiful or scanty; tho,

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in the latter case, an abatement of part, or remission of the whole, is made upon representation. Five per cent. is said to be the Emperor's proper share of the average crop; but the valuation, which is made entirely at the discretion of the crown officer, is generally fixed so much higher than the current price of produce, that the tax sometimes equals a tenth of the whole.

The river, against the course of which the yachts had been so long tracked, was now grown shallow, and ceased quickly to be navigable. It took its source between ranges of bleak and barren mountains, which were not unfrequently covered in the winter months with snow; and some tracts of land were perceived to be without the smallest degree of verdure, the surface being a kind of dark sand or crumbling stone, a perpendicular section of which discovered several horizontal and parallel layers or veins of quartz, between beds of argillaceous earth.

A second land journey was now to be undertaken in the same manner as before; and preparations being quickly made on the day of disembarkation, the travellers set out early next morning, and soon arrived at the foot of mountains that divide the province of Kiang-see, which they were quitting, from the province of Quantung. They form a chain running mostly from east to west, and are nearly perpendicular to the range already mentioned, proceeding to it southerly from Han-choo-foo.



Their basis is of granite, over which are calcareous strata. The travellers began in a little time to ascend the highest of those eminences, the summit of which was confounded with the clouds above it. Two of those clouds, as they appeared at least to be to some of the spectators, were without motion, and left a void regular space between them; but after the travellers had ascended a long way upon a circuitous road, so traced for the purpose of being practicable for horsemen, they were astonished to find that those steady clouds formed, themselves, the summit of the mountain, cut down by dint of labour, to a very considerable depth, in order to render the ascent somewhat less steep. Difficult as this passage still continues, it is so much less so than before the top of the mountain was thus cut through, that the statue of the mandarine who had it done, is honoured with a niche in some of the Chinese temples hereabouts. At this pass is a military post.

The mountain is clothed with plantations of trees to its utmost height, from whence a most extensive and rich prospect opens at once to the eye. A gentle and uniform descent of several miles on every side, almost entirely clothed with lively verdure, and crowned with towns, villages, and farm-houses, is, as it were, to use Mr. Barrow's expression, "laid at the feet of the spectator;" whilst distant plains of unbounded extent, with mountains rising out of the horizon, terminate the view. Towards the northerly

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point of the compass appeared, however, a tract of waste and barren ground. The hills scattered over the plain appeared, comparatively to the vast eminence from whence they were viewed, like so many hay-ricks ; as is, indeed, the distant appearance of many other Chinese hills. The town of Nan-gan-foo, which the travellers had lately left, from their present situation seemed merely to be a heap of tiles, while the river that passed by it was like a shining line. The mountain, so superior to the surrounding objects, must be of much higher elevation above the surface of the sea. It cannot be less than one thousand feet higher than the source of the Kan-kiang, or river up which the party had navigated from the neighbourhood of the Poyang. Its stream is so rapid, that the average of its fall may be estimated at twenty feet a mile, during a direct length of about three hundred miles, the whole amounting to six thousand feet, which with the elevation of one thousand feet above the source of the river, make the apex of the mountain to be seven thousand above the surface of the Poyang lake. That lake discharges a vast volume of water into the Yang-tse-kiang river, with a considerable current, which runs from thence at least three hundred miles before it reaches the Eastern sea ; and in that distance cannot have a fall of less than a thousand feet. These computations give therefore to the mountain an elevation of eight thousand feet above the level of the sea.



The road across the mountain was crowded with several thousand peasants, carrying large jars of oil to Nan-gan-foo, from whence it is sent by water to the more northern provinces of the empire. On this road were seen some horses, remarkably small, but hardy and nimble. They had not handsome forehands, but were otherwise well shaped, with limbs as neat and slender as those of a stag.

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On arriving at Nan-shoo-foo, the frontier city of the province, about eighteen miles from the pass upon the mountain, convenient but small covered barges, suited to the smallness of the river near its source, were found in readiness to receive the persons and baggage of the Embassy.

This river, called Pe-kiang, continues its course through an extent of about two hundred and sixty miles to the city of Canton. From thence it falls, after a further course of about eighty miles, into the southern sea of China, near which it takes, among foreigners, the name of Bocca Tigris.

For a great part of its course to the northward of Canton it lies between two ranges of calcareous hills, some of which rise immediately from the water, while others receding from the banks leave some narrow and some extended plains intervening between them. The eminences in the beginning were rude and broken, producing chiefly the sesanqua and the larch, growing some-

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times in spots where it required no little labour and management to plant them. The soil was mostly sand mixed with a little clay, and partaking of the granite strata which lay below it. Hereabouts in the little dells were scattered small neat houses, surrounded by patches of land under cultivation, and apparently accessible only by the river. In its bed were frequently heaped together stones, which with stakes of wood formed a kind of dam, leaving sluices through which the water rushes with a rapid stream ; and in these are placed baskets of wicker-work, having pointed sticks within side converging towards each other, which permit the fish to pass through them, but prevent their regress ; thus rendering them the prey of the proprietor of those snares.

As soon as the hills opposite to each other began to be less rugged, tobacco was planted on their slanting sides, contrary to the usual system of Chinese agriculture, which affects to erect terraces on every practicable slope. There were however some mountains which were barren and of a horrid aspect. No vegetation was to be discovered on them. Rocks piled upon rocks in every fantastic form, threaten the passenger sailing under their overhanging heads. Five of the most remarkable of those tremendous heaps were termed by the Chinese the five horses' heads. One was distinguished towards its summit by layers of different coloured stones. Other hills consisted chiefly of mines of coal rising directly



from the river and opening into day. They were worked by drawing a level from the river into the side of the mine, the contents of which are loaded immediately on barges from the mouth of an horizontal shaft. This coal is of a soft soapy nature, shivery, and easily pulverized, and such as is sometimes called culm coal. As the Chinese have no fire-places with open grates, but burn their fuel in close stoves, they commonly char their coal, previously to its being employed for fuel; and for this purpose deep pits are dug in the vicinity of the mines. In the general spirit of Chinese economy, rendered, perhaps, necessary by the immensity of their population, the dust even of the coals is not lost by them. A livelihood is obtained by gathering this dust, and mixing it with equal quantities of soft earth collected out of marshy grounds, which, when made into the form of bricks, and rendered solid in the sun, are transported to districts where no coal is found.

As soon as the river became sufficiently deep and wide, the passage barges were changed for larger and more commodious yachts. The volume of water was increased by a junction with another considerable stream coming from the north-west. At their confluence stood the city of Chau-choo-foo, the environs of which were pleasant and romantic. The plains were sown with rice and tobacco, the rising grounds were planted with cotton and the sesanqua. The boats which ply from one

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part of the city to another are chiefly managed by females, who are generally young and neatly dressed, with an evident intent of attracting the attention of passengers. A similar custom had been observed before on the Tai-hoo lake, where men absent from their own families abounded. At Chau-choo-foo, the commerce of two navigable rivers occasioned a concourse of male strangers. The frail females in the boats had not embraced this double occupation, after having quitted their parents, or on being abandoned by them on account of their misconduct; but the parents themselves, taking no other interest in the chastity of their daughters, than as it might contribute to an advantageous disposal of them to wealthy husbands, feel little reluctance, when no such prospect offers, to devote them to one employment, with a view to the profits of another. Women, especially in the lower walks of life, are bred with little other principle than that of implicit obedience to their fathers or their husbands. To them they are taught to refer the good or bad qualities of their actions, without any idea of virtue in the abstract. Nor do the men seem to value chastity, except what may tend to their own personal gratification. The case is probably somewhat otherwise in the upper classes of life in China. There is, in fact, a greater difference often between different ranks in the same country, than between the same ranks in different countries. The Chinese women, of whatever condition in life, are,



for the most part, deprived of the benefit of reading, or of acquiring knowledge by observation. Their ignorance, their inexperience, their retirement, their awe also of those whom they consider as their superiors, disqualify them, in great measure, from becoming the friends or habitual companions of the leisure of their husbands. Even a relish for their personal charms is subject gradually to diminish; and less horror is felt against unnatural practices, which, however they are, as well as all perverse and impure desires, justly reprobated by the Chinese moralists, are seldom, if ever, punished by the law, at least when committed by the mandarines. Where the ladies never form a part of society with men, mutual improvement, or delicacy of taste and sentiment, the softness of address, the graces of elegant converse, the refinement and play of passions, cannot take place; and unguarded manners in the men are liable to degenerate into coarse pleasantry or broad allusions. The exterior demeanour of the Chinese is, indeed, very ceremonious. It consists of various evolutions of the body, and inclinations of the head, in bending or stiffening the knee; and in joining and disengaging the hands; all which are considered as the perfection of good breeding and deportment; while the nations who are not expert in such discipline are thought to be little better than barbarians. When, however, those Chinese ceremonies are once shewn off, the performers of them relapse into ease

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and familiarity. In their address to strangers, they are not restrained by any bashfulness ; but present themselves with an easy confident air, as if they considered themselves as the superiors, and as if nothing in their manners or appearance could be deficient or inaccurate. This habit of confidence in themselves arose originally from a consciousness of surpassing their neighbours in merit of every kind. Before the period of the Mongol invasion of their country, in the midst of the dark ages of Europe, when China was visited by Marco Polo, the natives of it had already reached their highest pitch of civilization, in which they were certainly much superior to their conquerors, as well as to their European contemporaries ; but not having since advanced, whilst the nations of Europe have been every day improving in manners, and in arts and knowledge of every kind, the Chinese are seen by the latter with less admiring eyes than they were by the first travellers who gave accounts of them. The Chinese themselves felt lately in their intercourse with the Embassy some of the advantages which the English now had over them. The Chinese have suffered, perhaps, likewise by the intermixture with the Manchoo Tartars ; feeling themselves in some degree degraded under the yoke of the most absolute authority that can be vested in a prince, whilst the Tartars consider themselves as in some degree partakers of their sovereign's dominion over the whole ; and are thus consoled



under the pressure of his power upon themselves ; like the house servants or house negroes belonging to a great landlord in Livonia, or a planter in Jamaica, who, tho slaves themselves, look down upon the peasantry and field negroes of the estate, as greatly their inferiors.

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Upon a principle not dissimilar, the inhabitants in general of the maritime province of Canton, considering the strangers that came for the purpose of traffic to it, as less protected by the government of the country than themselves, affected a sort of superiority sometimes over them.

Yet the influence of the extensive trade carried on by the English, was manifested some days before the yachts had reached the city of Canton ; for upon the river, as well as along its banks, it was not unusual to hear some English words attempted to be spoken by Chinese. Many of the boats of burden which were sailing down the river were laden with goods destined to be sent to England. It was crowded, indeed, also in many places with vast rafts or floats of timber, mostly of the larch and camphor trees, on their passage towards the middle and northern province of the empire, which were too level and too well cultivated to produce much wood. The rafts bound together, extended sometimes above a hundred feet in length. Masts were erected in several parts of them, on which sails were set to waft them against the current whenever there was a favourable breeze. When otherwise, they were tracked by the people who lived upon

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them in cabins built for that purpose. Upon these rafts vegetables were often made to grow, and several domestic animals were reared. From the cabins children issued, almost like bees rushing from a hive. The people on board had likewise tackling to fish; and large nets were drawn up from them, as from the deck of a boat, in the manner exhibited in the opposite engraving.

On one side of the river was an immense rock of grey coarse marble, estimated to be about six hundred feet in height. In a large rent or fissure close to the water's edge, and accessible only by boats, is a temple, inhabited by Ho-shaung, or priests of Fo, who worship there a variety of chiefs or heroes deified, and of virtues and passions personified. This temple consisted of several apartments, one over the other, of considerable height, consisting chiefly of excavations made into the rock. Above them, in a large natural fissure, was an immense mass of stalactites not less, apparently, than a ton in weight, out of which proceeded a vast number of ramifications. Plate 43 of the folio volume, exhibits a view of this stupendous rock. Many of the hills are cut down perpendicularly to the water's edge, in order to obtain from thence the immense masses of stone employed in pagodas, bridges, and for the platforms or foundations on which Chinese temples and palaces are erected. Quarries are frequently wrought at the sides of rivers, on account of the facility of transportation from thence.



A plain, terminated only in the horizon, at length succeeded to the double range of heights through which the river had mostly flowed hitherto from its source. The stream was now widened, and soon met the tide flowing from the southward. The country was intersected by large canals for the purposes of navigation, and others of a smaller size for occasionally watering the grounds. The whole exhibited every mark of fertility, industry, and populousness. The principal cultivation was rice.



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In some spots were groves of mulberry trees. Along the river, as the party approached Canton, were nurseries full of curious plants; and also country houses belonging to the principal native merchants of that city. To one of those the Company's Commissioners, together with several English gentlemen and Chinese connected with them, came to meet the Ambassador.

The Viceroy had already gone on before, in order to prepare, at Canton, for his Excellency's reception there. He sent from thence large and magnificent barges, adorned with profusion of glass, gilding, and painting, in which the Embassy made its entrance into Canton. They arrived there on the nineteenth of December, 1793. The uncommon honours paid to his Excellency, by order of the Viceroy, and his own personal attentions, had not the mere effect of idle and transitory show; but taught the inhabitants of Canton to consider the English there no longer as destitute of protection, or unworthy of respect.

At Canton almost every individual of the Embassy enjoyed at length the satisfaction, after many disappointed hopes, of hearing from their private friends. Accounts also had arrived, that the government of France had declared war against Great Britain: and the Ambassador felt therefore the greater satisfaction, in being informed, that the Lion man of war had been overtaken by a messenger from the Company's Commissioners, before Sir Erasmus Gower had made any progress in



his way to the northward, after having been supplied with what he wanted from Canton; and that his ship was then lying at the Bocca Tigris. She had sailed from Chu-san on the eighteenth of October. During her stay there, of about seven weeks, his crew had recovered almost entirely from the dysentery with which they had been long tormented. Beside the benefit of air and exercise, they had the advantage of a fresh and wholesome diet. They were supplied with animal food, particularly poultry, as well as vegetables, at reasonable rates, especially when purchased without the intervention of men in office, who generally exacted fees from the seller which fell ultimately upon the consumer. Fruits of all kinds were plentiful and cheap. Tea was cheaper than in any other part of China. A month before their departure, a dreadful storm happened, particularly of lightning, which was so low as to appear to pass along the muzzle of the guns, and continued in such violent and constantly succeeding flashes, as to drive every person off the decks. The wind, during the severity of the tempest, was northerly, and contrary to what had blown for the late preceding months; and the whole was considered by the seamen as a contest between the two monsoons which should get the better. The south-west wind became, however, prevalent again. The weather afterwards was inconstant and the wind changeable, until the end of September, when a strong north-east gale

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arose, which settled in a few days in a moderate breeze from the same quarter; and the new monsoon was then considered as established for the season.

Sir Erasmus Gower was desirous of then pursuing the route proposed by the Ambassador at Tien-sing; but he was obliged, in the first place, to proceed for the river of Canton, as has been already mentioned. Little, however, suspecting the change of circumstances, which rendered necessary a correspondent change in his destination, he was determined to return as quickly as possible to the north-east. All possible honours were paid to him on his departure from Chu-san, in consequence of the good order he had preserved among his people. The Lion sailed through the Chu-san islands and the straits of Formosa, with safety and expedition; and anchored on the twenty-third of October near the Ladrone islands. In that of Samcock good water was found in sufficient plenty for the ship's use. In the summit of that island is a huge heap of granite rocks, from whence there is an extensive prospect of all the passages leading through the Ladrone islands. The Chinese pilots look out from thence for vessels coming from sea towards their ports. The latitude of the island is twenty-two degrees nine minutes north. The longitude, by a mean of nine sights of the sun's distance from the moon, is one hundred and twelve degrees forty-one minutes east of Greenwich.



From this place Sir Erasmus sent to the Commissioners at Canton, by whom he was supplied, in a very few days, with the medicines and other articles he wanted; and he bent afterwards, immediately, his course back thro the straits of Formosa; but now the north-east monsoon, which was in its utmost force, blew directly against him. On the fourth of November, he met a violent gale of wind, not far from Pedra Branca. The weather continued, indeed, boisterous the whole time the ship was out, with an irregular short sea, which got up in a moment. The sails were constantly splitting, and were not without difficulty supplied. The Lion continued thus several days working off the China shore without gaining a mile. She then stood over for Formosa, where there was less current against her; and she made some progress; but the turbulence of the weather was such, that she sprung both top-masts, and was obliged to return to the Ladrones, in order to be in some degree of shelter, for the purpose of being refitted, and capable of renewing her efforts to get forward. Several piratical vessels, filled with Chinese, were hovering in this neighbourhood, and had very lately taken several Chinese junks, and plundered the adjacent islands. The practice of those pirates is to make slaves of such able bodied men, as they take prisoners, to put the rest to death, and to sink the junks, and burn the houses, after taking out whatever they deem valuable. On the twenty-first of November, the

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Lion met a brig, which on examination, proved to be the very vessel to which belonged the five men whom the Embassy had found, and left, in the volcanic island of Amsterdam, the preceding month of February. As Sir Erasmus had heard, from Canton, of the war between Great Britain and France, he seized the brig as a lawful prize, she belonging to, and having been fitted out from, the Isle of France. Thus, the return of the brig to the island of Amsterdam, for Perron and his companions, with the cargo of skins they were collecting for her there, was frustrated at once. And if ever those poor people should be enabled to get away from that desolate and confined spot, it must be owing to some fortunate accident of a vessel casually touching at it, and disposed to take them from thence.

Before the damages which the Lion had lately suffered were repaired, Sir Erasmus Gower received the Ambassador's dispatches; and in consequence of them, instead of combating again with the monsoon, he steered for the Bocca Tigris.

Captain Mackintosh also arrived at Canton sooner than he expected. He had found the mandarines and people of Chu-san perfectly well disposed to comply with the Emperor's orders, in respect to the privileges to be granted to the captain and his officers, in the purchase of a cargo there; and tea and silk were much cheaper than elsewhere; but the Chu-san traders were



not prepared for so extensive a concern, as a cargo of goods fitted for the European market, to fill a ship of the size of the Hindostan, full twelve hundred tons; nor for the purchase of the European goods on board her, better calculated for a larger city. They would therefore expect specie for most of the articles they could furnish for the Hindostan, and which had not been provided by her commander. He found it expedient, therefore, to proceed to Canton, where he was to enjoy, for the present voyage, the same privileges and exemptions, as at Chu-san. He left that place with regret, in which the inhabitants partook; as his officers and crew had been very careful in their conduct towards the Chinese; and a general satisfaction was felt on both sides. The Hindostan had, as well as the Lion, the advantage of a favourable monsoon in proceeding to Canton; but the straits of Formosa are generally so tempestuous, that Captain Mackintosh scarcely remembered to have seen severer weather than he met in this short passage through those straits to the river of Canton.

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The Chart, No. 10, in the folio volume, of the journey from Han-choo-foo to Canton, was carefully constructed by Mr. Barrow. It completes, with the Chart, No. 9, a delineation of the whole route through the interior of the empire, with a variety of interesting remarks made every day upon the spot; and conveys a faithful picture of the surface, culture, and temperature of the country.

*List of Plants in the Provinces of Kiang-see and Canton.*

Plants in the  
province of  
Kiang-see  
and Canton.

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Kyllinga triceps.	Polygonum fagopyrum.
Punicum italicum.	Laurus camphora.
Arundo bamboo.	Cassia obtusifolia.
Eriocaulon.	Euphorbia.
Elæagnus pungens.	Rosa indica.
Ilex, a new species.	—— another species.
Azalea indica.	Triticum.
Convolvulus sericeus	Rubus.
———— battatas.	Thea.
———— medium.	Gossipium.
———— obscurus.	Hybiscus syriacus.
Nauclea orientalis.	Camellia sesanqua.
Lonicera.	Arachis hypogæa.
Sphenoclea zeylanica.	Glycine.
Bladhia japonica.	Indigofera tinctoria.
Illecebrum sessile.	Citrus trifoliata.
Gardenia florida.	Artemisia.
Asclepedea, two species.	Chrysanthemum indicum.
Burmannia, a new species.	Elephantopus.
Tradescantia.	Urtica nivea.
Allium.	Quercus dentatus. Thun-
Convallaria japonica.	berg.
Daphne indica.	Pinus larix.



Croton sebiferum.	Serissa. Jussæi.
Cucurbitacea.	Pontedera.
Ischæmum aristatum.	Juncus articulatus.
Mimosa.	Rumex. Thunberg.
Panax aculeata.	Jussæa erecta.
Pteris semipinnata.	Dianthus deltoides.
Asplenium, two species.	Cratægus bebas. Loureiro.
Polypodium.	———— glabra. Thunb.
Lycopodium cernuum.	Lagerstromia indica.
Myosotis scorpioides.	Clematis. Thunberg.
Plumbago zeylanica.	Urtica nivea.
Psychotria asiatica.	Sagittaria trifolia.
———— serpens.	Cupressus pendula. Thunb.
Mussenda frondosa.	Sterculia platanifolia.
Justicia.	Rotboellia.
Rondeletia asiatica.	Xanthoxylon trifoliatum.
Datura.	———— another species.
Nicotiana tabacum.	Smilax.
Physalis.	Juniperus barbadensis,
Solanum diphyllum. Osb.	Thunberg.
———— verbascifolium.	Anthistiria ciliata.
———— nigrum.	Plectronia chinensis. Lou-
———— another species.	reiro.
Lycium japonicum.	Ophioglossum scandens.
———— foetidum.	Achrostius siliquosus.
Capsicum.	Saccharum.
Dysoda fascicularis. Lour.	Ficus indicus.

Plants in the  
province of  
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## CHAPTER VII.

RESIDENCE OF THE EMBASSY AT CANTON, AND AT MACAO.

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THE city and suburbs of Canton are situated mostly on the eastern bank of the Pe-kiang river. The Embassy was lodged on the opposite side. Its quarters consisted of separate buildings sufficiently spacious and convenient. Some of them were fitted up in the English manner, with glass windows and fire-grates. The use of the latter was then found, in the winter solstice, to be very comfortable, tho in a situation bordering upon the tropic. A large garden with ponds and parterres surrounded the buildings. On one side of them was a temple; and on the other, a high edifice, the top of which commanded a view of the river and shipping, as well as of the city and the country to a considerable distance.

Canton, like a sea-port or a frontier town, bears many marks of the mixture of foreigners with natives. The handsome factories of the different nations of Europe trading to it, situated in a line along the river, outside the walls of the city, each with its national flag flying over it, contrast with the Chinese buildings, and are an ornament to the whole. The numbers of strangers to be seen in the suburbs, while their ships are unloading and



loading in the river; their various languages, dresses, and characteristic deportment, would leave it almost a doubt, if a judgment were to be formed from that part of the town, to what nation it was belonging.

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The neighbourhood of the foreign factories is filled with storehouses for the reception of European goods, until they are disposed of to the natives, or Chinese goods for exportation until shipped. The front of almost every house is a shop; and the shops of one or more streets are laid out chiefly to supply the wants of strangers. All purchases are made either by individuals belonging to the ships, or by the agents of companies in Europe. The great objects of import and export are carried on chiefly by the latter. In transactions by the former, instances of fraud may have happened or been attempted; scarcely any by the latter. The probity, punctuality, and credit of the English East India Company in particular, and their agents, are known among the Chinese merchants to be such, that their goods are taken always, as to quantity and quality, for what they are declared in the invoice; and the bales with their mark pass in trade, without examination, throughout the empire. Those agents are divided generally into supercargoes and writers. They have the good fortune, by the nature and liberality of their emoluments, to be placed above temptation. They are allowed a commission on the business done by them, according to their stations

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in the service. Their measures are determined by a majority of the meeting, with regular minutes of the grounds for their proceedings. They are bred in the habits of method, candour, and punctuality, the characteristics of an honourable merchant, without being led into any of the selfish vices, or low propensities, of which the practice must tend to degrade so useful a profession.

Tho the exports of Canton consist of many articles, their comparative importance is almost absorbed in that of tea. The agents of other European nations taken collectively, purchased much greater quantities of that commodity formerly than the English. It did not, however, escape the observation of several of the Directors of the English Company, that much the greatest proportion of the teas so brought to Europe on foreign bottoms, was afterwards smuggled into England, in consequence of the temptation afforded by the high duties imposed upon that article by the British Parliament. Teas were found not only to constitute the principal article that was smuggled into the kingdom, but it occasioned and facilitated the like clandestine importation of other goods. This practice of smuggling arose to such a height that, in a report made to the House of Commons, by a very able member of it, now a peer, he concluded by saying, that “ the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue, “ had increased in a most alarming degree; that those



“ practices were carried on upon the coasts, and in other  
“ parts of the kingdom, with a violence, and with out-  
“ rages, which not only threatened the destruction of  
“ the revenue, but were highly injurious to regular  
“ commerce and fair trade, very pernicious to the man-  
“ ners and morals of the people, and an interruption to  
“ all good government.”

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At the same time, by the ability and industry of a gentleman, now accomptant of the East India Company, a statement of facts and estimates, which is printed in the Appendix to this work, together with a plan, were brought forward for obtaining for Great Britain, the advantages and profits of importing all the teas consumed by its subjects in that kingdom and its dependencies; and upon these was founded the law, generally known by the name of the Commutation Act, which put an end to many of the evils pointed out in the report just quoted; and gave employment to a considerable number of ships and sailors, in fetching to Europe, in English bottoms, the additional quantities of teas, which the cessation of smuggling that article from other parts of Europe, rendered it necessary for the agents of the English Company to purchase in Canton. Tables of the consequent annual increase of teas purchased, and British manufactures sold at Canton, will be found also in the Appendix. Beside the usual supercargoes and writers belonging to the factory, three commissioners, at this time,

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presided in it. They had been deputed by the Company, not only to announce in due form to the Chinese government the appointment of an Embassy from Great Britain, and to prepare for its reception, but also to examine and regulate the management of the Company's increased concerns at Canton and Macao. Such is the liberal education of the Company's servants, that the first of those Commissioners, beside the qualities which fitted him for his station, was possessed of considerable science in other respects ; and another was well known in the literary world by his travels, and his ingenuity. The three Commissioners gave to the Ambassador a full detail of the several grievances under which the Company's concerns laboured in Canton, and the personal disgusts to which their agents were exposed ; and thus enabled his Excellency to add to the remonstrances he had presented on the subject to the Viceroy, in the course of their travelling together from Han-choo-foo. The Viceroy was perfectly disposed to redress every real hardship ; and published very soon two edicts against the frauds to which foreigners were subject in the transaction of their business, and the insults to which they were liable in their persons. Offenders were already punished in conformity to those edicts.

The complete reform of inveterate abuses was, however, not to be expected on a sudden. The prejudices and the interests of many of the natives concurred in



producing efforts for their continuance. The Hop-po, or chief revenue officer, was alarmed for the usual exactions of his office. He was conscious of the injury he did to foreigners; and his hatred or his contempt was equal to his injustice. He was able, bold, and artful; and was seconded and screened by most of the other officers of government, except the Viceroy, and by the individuals who adopted his prejudices, or profited by his plunder, or dreaded his resentment. Against such obstacles the letter of the law required aid to carry it into execution. Among the Viceroy's virtues, it was not certain that he possessed so inflexible a firmness as to withstand the art and misrepresentations of those constantly about him. The foreigners were deterred, in some degree, from attempting to approach him by the eminence of his rank; and more so by the difference of their manners, and their deficiency in the means of communication. It was, indeed, likely that during the Ambassador's stay at Canton, his fellow subjects there would have no reason to complain: his intimacy with the Viceroy, the easiness of his access to him on every occasion, the facility of conveying thro a faithful and intelligent interpreter, the whole of the complaints and representations of the factory, without being weakened by awe of the Viceroy in his high station, or thro fear of any offender's vengeance, would probably insure justice and tranquillity to all the persons whom trade

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attracted to the country. The probability even of his Excellency's return there, after a tour to Japan or Cochin-China, as the season would serve, might be of use in this respect; and the reform introduced in the interval would acquire the force of habit, which the good intentions of the Viceroy might be able to support. The Ambassador was aware, that nothing but the motive of guarding the valuable fleet of ships from China, should that become necessary for their safety, could warrant him in indulging the idea of returning home that season, without having made all the exertions in his power for attaining as many objects as possible of his mission to the East.

During his stay at Canton an interchange of visits took place between him and the Viceroy, and also between the former and the gentlemen of the factory. Such a familiar intercourse, in the latter instance, testified to the Chinese, that the agents for the East India Company in China were not taken from a class, or employed in an occupation which debased them, in the eyes of their own country, below the society of the first persons of rank and eminence. The pride and reserve of rank were not, indeed, much cherished by the Viceroy. He was the first in that eminent station who ever admitted the native merchants of Canton to sit in his presence; and he was likewise said to be the first Viceroy who consented to sit at table with gentlemen of the English factory, at a repast prepared by them for the Ambassador.



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The Viceroy, in his favourable disposition towards the English, was influenced, perhaps, likewise by the opinion he had conceived of their science and acquirements. Accident contributed toward inspiring him with such sentiments. The custom of inhaling the vapour of tobacco, as well as that of taking it in powder, is very general in China, and extends to the highest ranks. The Viceroy once wanting to light his pipe in the absence of his attendants, the Ambassador took from his pocket a small phosphoric bottle, which opening, he soon kindled a match that answered the purpose wanted. The singularity of a person's appearing to carry fire about him without damage, attracted the Viceroy's attention. His Excellency explained the phænomenon to him in general terms, and made him a present of the bottle, which was not a little valuable in his eyes. This trifling incident led to a conversation on other curious subjects, from whence it was sufficiently apparent how much the Chinese, tho skilful and dextrous in particular arts, were behind the Western nations in many philosophical and useful branches of science. The Ambassador was not sorry to have the opportunity of mentioning some of the modern attainments of Europeans, which were the most likely to affect the imagination on being first related: such as the method of ascending in the atmosphere by the assistance of balloons filled with attenuated air; the apparatus for re-

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storing suspended animation ; and the operations for giving sight to the blind, in cases of cataract, by its extraction or depression. Doctor Dinwiddie gave lectures on electricity, and other parts of natural philosophy, which were attended by the gentlemen of the factory, and by such of the natives who knew a little English, and who were much struck with several of the experiments, tho they did not always comprehend the explanation, or perfectly understand the language, of the lecturer. The consciousness of superior knowledge and acquirements in Europeans, necessarily tended to procure for them the admiration, esteem, and consequent good treatment of the natives. Doctor Gillan was of material use to several of the mandarines, in prescribing for their complaints ; and some persons high in office, came purposely to Canton in order to consult him.

The state of physic is extremely low in China. There are no public schools or teachers of it. A young man, who wishes to become a physician, has no other way of acquiring medical knowledge, than by engaging himself to some practitioner, as an apprentice. He has thus the opportunity of seeing his master's practice, of visiting his patients with him, and of learning such parts of his knowledge and secrets as the other chooses to communicate to him. The emoluments of the profession seldom exceed the skill of the practitioner. As many copper coin as scarcely are equal to six-pence sterling,



is said to be the usual fee among the people ; and perhaps quadruple among the mandarines. The latter of high rank have physicians in their household, who reside constantly with them, and accompany them when they travel. The Emperor's physicians, as well as most of his domestic attendants, are chiefly eunuchs. Medicine is not divided in China into distinct branches, as in most parts of Europe : the same person acts as physician, surgeon, and apothecary. The surgical part of the profession is still more backward than the other. Amputation, in cases of compound fracture and gangrene, is utterly unknown. Death is the speedy consequence of such accidents. Deformed persons, no doubt, there are in China ; but they must be very few in number, or live much retired ; for no such happened to fall in the way of the Embassy, through the whole of its route, from the northern to the southern extremity of China.

The mortality of the small-pox, when of the confluent kind, joined to the observation that it attacked, once only, the same person, induced the Chinese to expose young persons to its infection, when it happened to be mild. The success of this method, led at length to the practice of inoculation amongst them. The annals of China first mention it, at a time answering to the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era. The general method of Chinese inoculation, is the following : when the disease breaks out in any district, the physicians of

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the place carefully collect a quantity of ripe matter from pustules of the proper sort; which being dried, and pulverized, is closely shut up in a porcelain jar, so as to exclude from it the atmospheric air; and in this manner it will retain its properties for many years. When the patient has been duly prepared by medicines, generally of an aperient kind, and strictly dieted for a short time, a lucky day is chosen to sprinkle a little of the variolous powder upon a small piece of fine cotton wool, and to insert it into the nostrils of the patient. If blindness, or sore eyes, be more frequent in China than elsewhere, which the gentlemen of the Embassy were not able to ascertain, it is not impossible, that it may be owing partly to the insertion of the variolous matter so near the seat of the optic nerve, to which the inflammation, it occasions, may extend.

No male physician is allowed to attend a pregnant woman, and still less to practise midwifery; in the indelicacy of which, both sexes seem to agree in China. There are books written on that art for the use of female practitioners, with drawings of the state and position of the infant at different periods of gestation; together with a variety of directions and prescriptions for every supposed case that may take place: the whole mixed with a number of superstitious observances.

Many practitioners of physic take the advantage, as elsewhere, of the obscurity in which that art is involved,



and of the ignorance and credulity of the people, to gain money by the sale of nostrums and secrets of their own. They distribute handbills, setting forth the efficacy of their medicines, with attested cures annexed to them. But it was reserved for the sect of Tao-tse, or disciples of Lao-koun, already mentioned, to arrogate boldly to themselves, the possession of a medical secret, "not to die." To those who had all the enjoyments of this life, there remained, unaccomplished, no other wish than that of remaining for ever in it. And accordingly several sovereigns of China have been known to cherish the idea of the possibility of such a medicine. They had put themselves, in full health, under the care of those religious empirics, and took large draughts of the boasted beverage of immortality. The composition did not consist of merely harmless ingredients; but, probably, of such extracts and proportions of the poppy, and of other substances and liquors, as occasioning a temporary exaltation of the imagination, passed for an indication of its vivifying effects. Thus encouraged, they had recourse to frequent repetitions of the dose, which brought on quickly languor and debility of spirits; and the deluded patients often became victims to deceit and folly, in the flower of their age.

There are in China no professors of the sciences connected with medicine. The human body is never, unless, privately, dissected there. Books, indeed, with

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drawings of its internal structure, are sometimes published; but these are extremely imperfect; and consulted, perhaps, oftener to find out the name of the spirit under whose protection each particular part is placed, than for observing its form and situation.

It is a matter of doubt, whether natural history, natural philosophy, or chemistry, be, as sciences, much more improved than anatomy in China. There are several treatises, indeed, on particular subjects in each. The Chinese likewise possess a very voluminous encyclopedia, containing many facts and observations relative to them; but from the few researches which the gentlemen of the Embassy had leisure or opportunity to make, during their short visit to the country, they perceived no traces of any general system or doctrine by which separate facts or observations were connected and compared, or the common properties of bodies ascertained by experiment; or where kindred arts were conducted on similar views; or rules framed, or deductions drawn from analogy, or principles laid down to constitute a science. For some there is not even a name. The Chinese books are full of the particular processes and methods, by which a variety of effects are produced in chemical and mechanical arts; and much might probably be gained from the perusal of them, by persons versed at the same time in the language of the describers, and acquainted with the subject of the description. As



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soon as the product of any art or manufacture has appeared to answer the general purpose for which it was intended, it seldom happens that the Chinese discoverer is either impelled by his curiosity, or enabled by his opulence, to endeavour to make any further progress, either towards superior elegance, or ornament, or even increased utility. The use of metals, for the common purposes of life, has made the Chinese search for them in the bowels of the earth, where they have found all those that are deemed perfect, except platina. Perhaps they have not the knowledge, or means of using the cheapest and shortest method of separating the precious metals from the substances amongst which they are found; nor of reducing the ore of others into their respective metals; but they perfectly succeed in obtaining them, without alloy, whenever their object is to do so; and in making such mixtures of them as produce the results they desire. The mines which are said to be in China, containing gold, a metal esteemed there more precious from its rarity than its use, are seldom permitted to be worked; but small grains of it are collected in the province of Yun-nan and Se-chuen, among the sand in the beds of the rivers and torrents which carry it down along with them as they descend from the mountains. It is pale, soft, and ductile. A few mandarines, and many women of rank, wear bracelets of this metal round the wrist, not more for ornament, than from a notion

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that they preserve the wearer from a variety of diseases. The Chinese artists beat it into leaf, for gumming it upon paper to burn in their tripods, and for gilding the statues of their deities. The silk and velvet weavers use it in their tissues and embroideries. Trinkets are also made of it at Canton, which the Chinese do not wear; but which are sold in Europe as Eastern ornaments. Beside the use of silver as a medium of payment for other goods, when it passes according to its weight, it is likewise drawn into threads, like gold, to be used in the silk and cotton manufactures. For bell metal, they use, with copper, a greater proportion of tin than is usually done elsewhere, by which means their bells are more sonorous, but more brittle, than those of Europe. Their white copper, called in Chinese pe-tung, has a beautiful silver-like appearance, and a very close grain. It takes a fine polish; and many articles of neat workmanship in imitation of silver, are made from it. An accurate analysis has determined it to consist of copper, zinc, a little silver, and, in some specimens, a few particles of iron, and nickel have been found. Tu-te-nag is, properly speaking, zinc, extracted from a rich ore, or calamine; the ore is powdered and mixed with charcoal dust, and placed in earthen jars over a slow fire, by means of which the metal rises in the form of vapour, in a common distilling apparatus, and afterwards is condensed in water. The calamine from whence this zinc is thus extracted, con-



tains very little iron, and no lead or arsenic, so common in the calamine of Europe; and which extraneous substances contribute to tarnish the compositions made of it, and prevent them from taking so fine a polish as the pe-tung of the Chinese. Doctor Gillan was also informed at Canton, that the artists, in making their pe-tung, reduce the copper into as thin sheets or laminæ as possible, which they make red hot, and increase the fire to such a pitch, as to soften, in some degree, the laminæ, and to render them ready almost to flow. In this state they are suspended over the vapour of their purest tu-te-nag, or zinc, placed in a subliming vessel over a brisk fire. The vapour thus penetrates the heated laminæ of the copper, so as to remain fixed with it, and not to be easily dissipated or calcined by the succeeding fusion it has to undergo. The whole is suffered to cool gradually, and is then found to be of a brighter colour, and of a closer grain, than when prepared in the European way. The iron ore of the Chinese is not well managed in their smelting furnaces; and the metal is not so soft, malleable, or ductile, as British iron. Their smiths' work is exceedingly brittle, as well as clumsy, and not polished. They excel, indeed, in the art of casting iron, and form plates of it much thinner than is generally known to be done in Europe. Much of the tin imported by the Chinese, is formed into as thin a foil as possible, in order to gum it afterwards upon square

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pieces of paper, which are burnt before the images of their idols. The amalgama of tin and quicksilver is applied, by the artists in Canton, in making small mirrors, with glass blown upon the spot from broken pieces of that material imported whole from Europe. The glass beads and buttons of various shapes and colours, worn by persons of rank, are chiefly made at Venice, and this is among the remnants of the great and almost exclusive trade which the Venetians formerly carried on with the East. The Chinese make great use of spectacles, which they tie round the head. They are formed of crystal, which the Canton artists cut into laminæ, with a kind of steel saw, formed by twisting two or more fine iron wires together, and tying them like a bow-string to the extremities of a small flexible bamboo. They undo one end of this string in order to pass the wire round the crystal, where it is meant to be divided, and which is then placed between two pivots. It is thus sawed, in the manner which European watch-makers use in dividing small pieces of metal. Below the crystal is a little trough of water, into which the siliceous powder of the crystal falls as it is cut by the revolution of the wire. With this mixture, the wire and the groove it forms in the crystal, are often moistened. The powder of the crystal, like that of the diamond, helps to cut and polish itself. The workmen did not seem to understand any principle of optics, so as to form the eye-glasses of such



convexities or concavities, as to supply the various defects of vision; but left their customers to choose what was found to suit them best. The few lapidaries who cut diamonds at Canton, used for that purpose adamantine spar, which being mixed in small proportions with grey granite, the mass was imagined to contain nothing else, and excited a doubt, whether it could be real diamond, which pure granite could affect. The Canton artists are uncommonly expert in imitating European works. They mend, and even make watches, copy paintings, and colour drawings, with great success. They supply strangers with coarse silk stockings, knit or woven at Canton, tho none of the natives wear such, unless it be some young Chinese, who are privately fond of following the fashions of Europeans. The toys made at Canton, and known under the name of balancers and tumblers, are partly filled, and their equilibrium sustained by quicksilver. That metal is used sometimes in the same complaints where it is applied in Europe, as a specific; but a prejudice prevails among the common Chinese, that its use is apt to destroy the powers of one sex, and to occasion barrenness in the other. The extreme populousness of the country, seems to prove that such a medicine is not frequently administered, or that those effects are attributed to it erroneously.

The marriages in China are, in fact, observed to be prolific, as well as early, to which must, no doubt, contribute

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greatly the establishment there of the patriarchal system, already mentioned in this work on a different occasion; and which system is certainly repressive of vice and excesses of every kind. Even the exposition of infants, implies the excess of population beyond the means of subsistence. Population in China, is not subject to be diminished materially by war. No private soldiers, and a few officers only, natives of the ancient provinces of China, were engaged in the conquest of Western Tartary, or in the Thibet war. Celibacy is rare even in the military profession among the Chinese. Accidents sometimes of extraordinary drought, and sometimes of excessive inundations, occasionally produce famine in particular provinces; and famine, disease: but there are few drains from moral causes, either of emigration or foreign navigation. The number of manufactures, whose occupations are not always favourable to health; whose constant confinement to particular spots, and sometimes in a close or tainted atmosphere, must be injurious, and whose residence in towns exposes them to irregularities, bears but a very small proportion to that of husbandmen in China. In general, there seems to be no other bounds to Chinese populousness, than those which the necessity of subsistence may put to it. These bounds are certainly more enlarged than in other countries. The whole surface of the empire is, with trifling exceptions, dedicated to the production of food for man alone. There is no meadow, and



very little pasture, nor are fields cultivated in oats, beans, or turnips, for the support of cattle of any kind. Few parks or pleasure grounds are seen, excepting those belonging to the Emperor. Little land is taken up for roads, which are few and narrow, the chief communication being by water. There are no commons; or lands suffered to lie waste by the neglect, or the caprice, or for the sport, of great proprietors. No arable land lies fallow. The soil, under a hot and fertilizing sun, yields annually, in most instances, double crops, in consequence of adapting the culture to the soil; and of supplying its defects by mixture with other earths, by manure, by irrigation, by careful and judicious industry of every kind. The labour of man is little diverted from that industry, to minister to the luxuries of the opulent and powerful; or in employments of no real use. Even the soldiers of the Chinese army, except during the short intervals of the guards which they are called to mount, or the exercises, or other occasional services which they perform, are mostly employed in agriculture. The quantity of subsistence is increased also, by converting more species of animals and vegetables to that purpose than is usual in other countries. And even in the preparation of their food, the Chinese have economy and management.

From a consideration of the influence of those causes, it will not perhaps appear surprising, that it should be asserted, that every square mile in China contains, upon

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an average, about one-third more inhabitants, being upwards of three hundred, than are found upon an equal quantity of land, also upon an average, in the most populous country in Europe. Instances are indeed recorded of a still greater population than either, in one of the West India islands.

Chow-ta-Zhin, a man of business and precision, cautious in advancing facts, and proceeding generally upon official documents, delivered, at the request of the Ambassador, a statement to him, taken from one of the public offices in the capital, and printed in the Appendix to this work, of the inhabitants of the fifteen ancient provinces of China, to which is annexed for the reader's information, the amount of square miles and of acres in each province. The extent of the provinces is ascertained by astronomical observations, as well as by admeasurement; and they are found to contain upwards of twelve hundred thousand square miles, or to be above eight times the size of France. The number of individuals is regularly taken in each division of a district by a tithing-man, or every tenth master of a family. Those returns are collected by officers resident so near as to be capable of correcting any gross mistake; and all the returns are lodged in the great register at Peking. Tho the general statement is strictly the result of those returns added to each other, which seem little liable to error, or, taken separately, to doubt; yet the amount of



the whole is so prodigious as to stagger belief. Even in calculations altogether certain, but immense in their results, such, for example, as the evaluation of the enormous bulk, or distance of the fixed stars, it requires a mind conversant in such subjects, or at least habituated to such assertions, to remove all doubt concerning them. After every reasonable allowance, however, for occasional mistakes, and partial exaggerations in the returns of Chinese population, the ultimate result exhibits to the mind a grand and curious spectacle of so large a proportion of the whole human race, connected together in one great system of polity, submitting quietly, and through so considerable an extent of country, to one great sovereign; and uniform in their laws, their manners, and their language; but differing essentially in each of these respects, from every other portion of mankind; and neither desirous of communicating with, nor forming any designs against, the rest of the world.

No correct intelligence could be obtained as to the population of Chinese Tartary. No Chinese have gone beyond Zhe-hol, except a few officers sent on military duty, or persons banished there for life. The Chinese still consider that country as foreign to them. Beyond Zhe-hol it is supposed to be very thinly peopled.

The public revenues of China proper, are said to be little less than two hundred millions of ounces of silver, which may be equal to about sixty-six millions of pounds

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sterling, or about four times those of Great Britain, and three times those of France before the late subversion. From the produce of the taxes, all the civil and military expences, and the incidental and extraordinary charges are first paid upon the spot, out of the treasuries of the respective provinces, where such expences are incurred; and the remainder is remitted to the Imperial treasury at Pekin. This surplus amounted, in the year 1792, to the sum of 36,614,328 ounces of silver, or 12,204,776 pounds sterling, according to an account taken in round numbers, from a statement furnished by Chow-ta-Zhin, and which account is printed in the Appendix. In case of insurrections, or other occurrences requiring extraordinary expences, they are generally levied by additional taxes on the provinces adjacent to the scene of action, or connected with the occasion of the expence.

In the administration of the vast revenue of the state, the opportunities of committing abuses are not often neglected, as may be inferred from the frequent confiscations to the Emperor, in consequence of such transgressions. It is indeed affirmed, that much corruption and oppression prevail in most of the public departments, by which considerable fortunes are acquired, notwithstanding the modicity of the public salaries. Among the tables in the Appendix is one, of the allowances made by the Emperor to the principal officers of government, revenue, and justice; concerning the last of which it is



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to be observed, that tho in each city there is a chief judge appointed expressly for trying criminals, all civil suits are decided by the principal or subordinate governors of the places where they arise; without any particular establishment of legal judges, appointed apart and independently for that purpose.

In point of taxation, the Chinese may be considered as more favoured than most subjects are in Europe, supposing silver to represent property, and to bear the same proportion to the consumable productions among the former which it does among the latter; for if the whole revenue were to be reduced to a capitation, it would not amount to more than five shillings a head on the population of the empire; whereas, by an analogous computation, the people of Ireland would pay to government eight shillings a head; those of France, under the monarchy, sixteen shillings a head; and each individual in Great Britain, at least, thirty-four shillings.

No certain account could be obtained of the Tartar revenues. Beside what the Emperor derives from his demesnes there, the chiefs pay to him a tribute, which increases frequently as they are better able to afford it. Goods imported into China, from Tartary, or through it, such as furs and leather, are liable to the payment of a small duty on passing the great wall; but all Chinese goods exported to Tartary pass duty free.

The principal information relative to the military in

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China, was taken from Van-ta-Zhin, himself a distinguished officer, and giving his account with candour, tho not always, perhaps, with the care and accuracy which accompany the statements of Chow-ta-Zhin. The former asserted that, including Tartars, the total of the army in the pay of China amounted to one million infantry, and eight hundred thousand cavalry. From the observations made by the Embassy, in the course of their travels through the empire, of the garrisons in the cities of the several orders, and of the military posts at small distances from each other, there appeared nothing unlikely in the calculation of the infantry; but they met few cavalry. If the number mentioned really do exist, a great proportion of them must be in Tartary, or on some service distant from the route of the Embassy.

Of the troops, especially cavalry, a vast number are Tartars, who have a higher pay than their Chinese fellow soldiers. The principal officers of confidence in the army are Tartars also. None of either nation are received into the service, but such as are healthy, strong, and sightly. The pay and allowances of a Chinese horseman are three Chinese ounces, heavier than European ounces, and three-tenths of an ounce, of silver, and fifteen measures, or rations (the weight not mentioned), of rice every lunar month. A Tartar horseman, seven similar ounces of silver, and twenty measures of rice for the same period. A Chinese foot soldier, has one ounce



and six-tenths of an ounce of silver, and ten measures of rice; and a Tartar of the same description, has two ounces of silver, and ten measures of rice every lunar month. The Emperor furnishes the arms, accoutrements, and the upper garment, to all the soldiers. Beside their ordinary pay and allowances, they also receive donations from the Emperor, on particular occasions; as when they marry, and when they have male children born. On the death of their parents, they obtain “a gift of consolation;” as do their families when the soldiers themselves die.

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A military life is much more the bent of a Tartar than of a Chinese. The hardy education, the rough manners, the active spirit, the wandering disposition, the loose principles, the irregular conduct of the former, fit him better for the profession, practice, and pursuits of war, than the calm, regulated, domestic, philosophical, and moral habits of the latter. Warriors seem more naturally the offspring of Tartary, as literati are of China. The latter are chiefly conversant in the sciences of morals, and of the policy of government, which are often united in the contemplation, and in the works, of their lawgivers and philosophers. Some of their principal writers have succeeded in clothing their lessons of morality, in a dress so pleasing and instructive, as to delight the Chinese, as much as an English reader can be, for example, with the reflections of a Johnson in his

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Rambler, or his *Rasselas*. Next to the studies which teach the economy of life, and are connected with it, the Chinese value most the history of the events of their own country, which is, to them, the globe; and of the celestial movements which they had an opportunity of observing at the same time. In regard to the former, some mention has been already made, of the constancy and regularity with which every fact was recorded by them, and carefully transmitted to posterity, with little mixture of supernatural events, which have destroyed the credit of the first accounts of most other nations. In regard to the latter, nothing can be so well calculated to excite curiosity, and occasion admiration, as the sight which the clear atmosphere of China allows, almost always, to its inhabitants, of an azure firmament span-gled with stars. The vicissitudes of day and night, of summer and winter, the different phases of the moon, exhibit appearances too striking not to claim attention, in the rude as well as cultivated stages of society. The shepherd attending his flocks, the husbandman tilling his ground, must have had frequent occasion to consult the heavens. A correspondence was observed between their motions, and the state of the temperature, and period of the productions of the earth. To ascertain such a correspondence for a constancy, or to regulate the return of the seasons, was both so useful and so satisfactory, that divers efforts were made to arrive at it, and



to form systems of astronomy and chronology. The succession of ideas, or of human events, was too uncertain and irregular to serve for the admeasurement of time, which could be taken, therefore, only from the steady revolutions of celestial bodies. The first division of time was, no doubt, derived from the interval between the rising and setting of the sun ; the next was taken from the changes in the appearance of the moon's size and form, and the last from the recurrence of the sun to the neighbourhood of the same fixed stars. It was at first imagined that the last period, or a year, was equal to twelve complete changes of the moon ; but when by following such a division for about sixteen years, it was found that the season that had been fixed for summer, would arrive in winter, various contrivances were devised, by the occasional intercalation of a month, to correct the calendar, or produce a nearer correspondence in the calculations of the respective motions of those celestial bodies. In a climate favourable to astronomy, the balance of hours beyond the number of days during which the sun appeared to return opposite to, and to obscure, or to mix among, the same fixed stars, might be ascertained in a short time ; and occasioned the addition of a day to every fourth year, in order to maintain regularity in the computation of time, in regard to the return of the seasons ; but many ages must have past before a period could have been discovered, in which the unequal re-

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turns of the sun and moon were so accurately adjusted, that at its termination the new and full moons should return, not only to the same day, but within an hour and half of the time they had happened, when the period commenced. The knowledge of such a period, or cycle, could be obtained only by a multiplicity of careful and accurate observations. Many revolutions of those great luminaries must have been completed, and numberless conjunctions have past over, before their returns could be ascertained to happen in the same day, at the end of nineteen years. The small difference of time between the returning periods of this cycle, was partly lessened by the invention of another of sixty years, or of seven hundred and twenty revolutions of the moon, which, with the settled intercalation of twenty-two lunations, were at first supposed to bring a perfect coincidence of the relative positions of the sun and moon; but even according to this period, every new year was made constantly to recede, in a very small degree, which the Chinese corrected afterwards from time to time. This cycle answered a double purpose, one as an era for chronological reckoning, and the other as a regulating period for a luni-solar year. Each year of the cycle is distinguished by the union of two characters, taken from such an arrangement of an unequal number of words placed in opposite columns, that the same two characters cannot be found again together for sixty years. The first



column contains a series of ten words ; the other, twelve : which last are, in fact, the same that denote the twelve hours or divisions of the day ; each being double the European hour. The first word or character of the first series or column of ten words, joined to the first word of the second series or column of twelve, marks the first year of the cycle ; and so on until the first series is exhausted ; when the eleventh word of the second series combined with the first of the first series, marks the eleventh year of the cycle ; and the twelfth or last of the second series joined with the second of the first series, serves for denoting the twelfth year. The third of the first series becomes united in regular progression with the first of the second series, to mark the thirteenth year ; and proceeding by this rule, the first character in the first and in the second series cannot come again together for sixty years, or until the first year of the second cycle. The Christian year 1797, answers to the fifty-fourth year of the sixty-eighth Chinese cycle, which ascertains its commencement to have been two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven years before the birth of Christ ; unless it be supposed that the official records and public annals of the empire, which bear testimony to it, should all be falsified ; and that the cycle when first established should have been antedated ; which is indeed as little probable, as that the period, for example, of the Olympiads, should be asserted to have commenced many ages prior to the first Olympic games.

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The cycle of sixty years is used likewise by the Hindoos of the peninsula of India, in dating many of their transactions; and also by the Siamese, upon the coast of Eastern Asia. Some traces of a communication between the former and the Chinese, may be inferred from the circumstance of the Hindoo solar year having commenced at the winter solstice, as the Chinese year does still: and it is recorded of the Chinese that they formerly coasted within, or nearly within, sight of land, from Canton to the Red sea and Persian gulf.

The Chinese annals are not confined to the relation of political events; but take notice likewise of uncommon appearances in the heavens, or of great natural changes in the country of the annalists. Several conjunctions of the planets are mentioned by them; one of the most ancient of which is denied by a celebrated astronomer, Cassini, to have taken place at the time assigned to it by the Chinese; but his calculation is, in its turn, asserted to be erroneous, by a no less able and learned writer, Bailly. The authenticity, indeed, of the observation, is compatible with inaccuracy in the description of the time it had happened; the calculation of which must have partaken of the imperfection of the calendar then in use. If the relation of those celestial appearances had been perfectly and minutely correct, a suspicion might arise of their having, at a subsequent period, been calculated back for the purpose of leading



to a belief of the high antiquity of the nation, where such observations were supposed to have been made. To judge by the state of astronomical science at this time in China, it is most likely that if the Chinese had been ever able to predict eclipses, it must have been by the means of long and repeated observations, and not by calculation. Two astronomers are indeed mentioned to have been severely punished for having neglected to foretell an eclipse of the sun, which happened about noon on the first day of the ninth moon of the year 2155 before the Christian era. But it is said that there must be some deceit or error in this account, at least as to time; for it appears by calculation, that no such eclipse was then visible in China, tho it was so in other meridians of the latitude of Pekin. The Chinese are said to have possessed, three hundred years before the birth of Christ, a treatise of clepsydras and gnomons, the latter of which directs how to find the latitude of a place, and to draw a meridian line: a degree of knowledge not attained, at that period, even by the Romans, who, for a considerable time, had no other way of determining the meridian, or mid-day, at Rome, than that of observing when the sun came between the senate house and the tribune; and who used for many years a sundial calculated for another latitude, imagining that it was equally applicable to all places: an error into which the Chinese are since accused of falling themselves.

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The records of China mention an event, of which the gentlemen of the Embassy found that a tradition continued in the country to this time. The great stream of the Yellow river is described to have burst its banks, and by its vast inundation, to have caused dreadful havoc among the neighbouring inhabitants. The name and particulars relative to the person who undertook to drain off the waters, and to restrain the river for the future within its banks; the methods he took to effect his purpose, together with the time he was employed in them, are so circumstantially detailed as to give a strong appearance of veracity to the relation. In the course of this person's operations, he is said to have constructed a chart of the countries adjacent to the Yellow river, which now exists in the Shoo-king, or one of the sacred books of China. The antiquity of this rude chart is marked by the division then subsisting of that great river, in its passage through the province of Kiang-nan, into two branches of equal size, one of which turns off directly to the northward, and falls into the gulf of Pe-che-lee; while the other follows the course in which the whole of the river runs at present. No accounts of a general deluge are mentioned in Chinese history.

However imperfect in the science of astronomy the Chinese are, they have some idea of imaginary circles in the heavens, such as the ecliptic, which they call the yellow road, the equinoctial, and a meridian line. The



constellations, or clusters of stars, are not represented by fanciful resemblances, but are connected together by lines upon their charts. The number of planets known to them is five, which corresponds to that of the elementary substances, they suppose to enter into the composition of all bodies; namely, fire, water, earth, wood, and metal, over each of which a planet is supposed to preside. Few of the Chinese seem to have any idea of the earth's motion; but imagine that the sun actually moves through the fixed stars. Four points in his course along the yellow road, are particularly distinguished, as marking the four seasons of the year. The day is divided, as by the ancient Egyptians, into twelve parts only, consisting each of two European hours; the first beginning at eleven at night.

Those portions of time are measured with tolerable accuracy, by means of a lighted taper made from the pith of a particular tree, of which the consumption by ignition is so regular, that divided into twelve equal parts, each continues burning during the twelfth part of the twenty-four hours. The gradual motion of sand, and the descent of liquids have been likewise applied to the same purpose.

The Chinese often employ very awkward and laborious means for effecting several purposes desirable in society. To announce the hour, even in Peking, they have no better method than that of striking with a

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mallet upon a large bell a number of blows correspondent to that of the hour, by a person who must wait and watch the progress of time, as indicated by some of the methods just described. They have no characters, independently of those in their common language, to express numbers in an abbreviated manner, such as the Arabic figures used by the Europeans, who were led to the adoption of them, from the inconvenience of writing them constantly in alphabetic letters. Without the use of Arabic, or similarly abridged figures, it must be difficult and tedious, if practicable, to perform the operations of arithmetic, which require particular positions of single signs. The Chinese indeed have less occasion for such, as those operations are performed by them, without writing, by the means of the swan-pan. When, however, they have occasion to express numbers in their writings they have recourse to their own characters, each of which signifies a whole number, independently of its relative position: a method less tedious than the expression of the same numbers by the letters of alphabetic writings; but which by no means equals the concise view of the same quantity in Arabic figures. The universal multiplication and subdivision of all quantities among the Chinese by decimal proportions, facilitates their calculations, and prevents the necessity of searching for methods to abridge them.

In the early stages of society, when the pressing



wants of men sharpen invention for their supply, no local circumstances forced, upon the Chinese, the obligation of considering with attention the nature of lines and surfaces; or of drawing consequences from the consideration, or combination of their properties. The inundations of the Chinese rivers, neither arose to such a height, nor continued upon the adjoining grounds, for such a period, as to require calculations to be made of their extent or depth; which is described to have been the case in Egypt, where geometry is supposed to have taken its rise. Neither in ancient or modern times, have the Chinese had, like other nations, such a communication with the rest of mankind, as to imitate their examples, or borrow from their discoveries. Instances are mentioned of princes of China having made a considerable proficiency in mathematical knowledge, under missionaries in the service of the court; but neither the policy of government, nor that of the missionaries themselves, even if their religious avocations had not employed most moments of their time, would probably permit the extension of such instructions to the public, who might abate somewhat of the admiration towards their rulers, for their solemn prediction of eclipses, when the science which furnished the means of doing so, should be generally known, and when, consequently, the want of the missionaries for the construction of their almanacs could be supplied by the natives.

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The Chinese are, in fact, dependent in this respect upon the learning of other nations. The increasing importation of the productions of other countries into the Chinese ports, created another species of dependence; which several statesmen of China, especially Tartars, considered as an evil, and were desirous to discourage, by aggravating to the Chinese cabinet every inconvenience or disturbance occasioned by the admission of foreign trade. To guard as much as possible against accidents which might endanger the continuance of a commercial intercourse with China, was perhaps among the motives that determined the nations concerned in it to continue the trade in the hands of the public companies established to carry it on; nor are there any private merchants from Europe allowed to settle at Canton, except such as reside there under commissions from sovereign powers. If, in fact, the European trade has not been maintained there without some difficulty, notwithstanding all the caution, good faith, punctuality, and forbearance of the agents of public companies, it is much to be apprehended that when such qualities could not be expected to be so invariably exerted by individuals, not always guided by experience, or acting upon strict and uniform principles, disputes might arise, frauds be attempted, and events take place, of which the enemies of foreigners might take advantage to exclude them altogether. The present restraints upon foreign commerce did



not, in fact, always subsist in China; but were established in consequence of dissatisfaction having been felt by the government of the country, at the supposed misconduct of the Europeans who frequented their ports, all of which were equally open formerly to strangers. The accounts of voyages to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before and since the Tartar conquest, mention the arrival of ships, passengers, and goods from Europe, at different ports of China, without any sort of molestation from the government or individuals; and travellers in Chinese dresses traversed the empire without danger: but since that period, upon every complaint, often either ill founded, or exaggerated by an oppressive magistrate, or interested individual, and transmitted to the distant court of Peking, against the English or others, who had no friends there to defend their cause, some new restriction was put upon their commerce and their conduct; confirming and heightening the prejudices of the vulgar against them, and operating to the personal disgust of the agents upon the spot, as well as to the disadvantage of their employers at home. These facts might perhaps be added to the solid arguments for prolonging the charter to the Company, which were submitted by the Chairman of the Court of Directors, already mentioned in the beginning of this work, to the Minister under whose particular control the British interests in Asia had prospered for several years. The question whether the charter

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should be renewed was, indeed, of considerable magnitude; and was taken at this time into impartial consideration; but was of nice decision. The popular opinions of Adam Smith are in opposition to all monopolies; but his theory is founded upon principles which do not apply to the practice in the present instance, which is fitted to the particular expediency of the case. It must have been allowed, no doubt, with that able writer, that in carrying on commerce to neighbouring countries, whose habits, prejudices and wants are well known to every mercantile individual, and with which an intercourse may be maintained by moderate capitals, the separate exertions and emulation of a great number of persons were likely to push it to the utmost extent of which it is susceptible; and on the effect of those exertions depend the advantages of a trade so circumstanced, being laid entirely open. But it is otherwise with a distant branch of commerce, in which, to be carried on beneficially for the state, its manufactures require for a time to be exported at a loss, to a remote country, and large advances are requisite to be made for the imports from thence. Such must be exclusively entrusted to a body, who can afford to have large capitals long outstanding; and who also, by their connection with government, have the public advantage no less in view than their private gain.

Such a body, whatever may be the occasional returns upon their joint undertakings, dividing only among



themselves a very moderate profit beyond the common interest of money; a body, the individuals of which derive no benefit but which is open, upon the same terms, to every other person who chooses to become a member of it, especially if he has the option of sending goods on his own account, does not appear to be a just object of jealousy to the rest of the community; and unites the advantages of an open trade with the beneficial management of a privileged company: and if in the event of extraordinary profits, the same are to be divided with the state which protects it, at a great expence, such an establishment promises to be more advantageous to the public in its collective capacity, than the chance of a successful trade by individuals, who might be enriched by it, without any security to the parent government, for the expence and risk incurred in the support of it.

This method of trading by the means of companies, rather than with individuals, was so consonant to the ideas of the Chinese, and appeared so necessary to them for the security of all mercantile transactions, as well as for the maintenance of tranquillity among those who carried them on, that on their part they established a society of Hong, or united merchants, who are answerable for one another both to the government and to foreign nations. They are allowed, indeed, to assess among themselves, a tax upon the goods they have for sale, for the purpose of defraying the charges to which they are liable

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in their collective capacity ; tho this tax is in fact an increase of price to the purchaser, and must in most cases fall ultimately upon the consumer.

The Hong-merchants, in matters not clashing with their own interest, are well disposed towards the foreign agents of the European companies ; but seldom venture to urge with effect, in the name of such foreigners, any remonstrance of their just complaints. Bred in the awe which the heavy hand of arbitrary power had impressed upon their minds, the characteristic disposition of the Chinese merchants is that of timidity and caution. They sometimes suppressed the representations of their foreign friends, and sometimes rendered them so weak and insignificant, and assumed in the name of the complainants such a suppliant and abject style, that they excited the contempt of the mandarines, as well as encouraged their depredations and ill treatment. The Commissioners were aware of the advantage that might result from communicating their sentiments through some of the Company's own servants, upon whom they could depend ; and took pains, therefore, to encourage in the factory an application to the study of the Chinese language. A knowledge of the language of any country frequented for trade, cannot indeed fail of being useful, in guarding against the impositions to which strangers are every where liable. It is particularly true in China, that guilt is generally fearful of detection : the oppressor wishes to avoid the



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publication of his wrongs ; and a rapacious extortioner may be apt to shrink before a complaint urged in clear and firm language. It was, indeed, difficult for a foreigner to learn Chinese even in Canton, a Chinese city. A jargon peculiar to the place is spoken there by all classes, except the mandarines, who are never natives of the province ; and who must be addressed, either in speaking or writing, in the general language of the empire. It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work, that instructors were prohibited from teaching it to strangers. This circumstance became one of the subjects of remonstrance from the Ambassador to the Viceroy, who could scarcely credit an assertion that implied in the government or people of Canton, a deliberate intention of depriving foreigners of the opportunities of transacting their own business, as well as of learning how they were best to follow the laws and customs of the country.

It must, however, be a subject of some encouragement to learners that many natives of Canton, allured by the advantage of dealing with the foreign factories, are able to acquire enough of European languages to make themselves understood, in common matters, notwithstanding a difficulty to which Europeans are not liable in learning Chinese. The sounds of several letters in most alphabets, such as B, D, R, and X, are utterly unknown, in the Chinese tongue. The organs of speech in a native of China are not in the habit of pronouncing them. In

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endeavouring to utter one of these, another to which the same organ has been habituated is generally sounded: instead of the letter R, the liquid L is usually pronounced by a Chinese; who thus occasionally falls into ridiculous mistakes: a Chinese dealer in rice, for example, is sometimes heard to offer for sale what few persons would be disposed to purchase.

The nice distinctions between the tones and accents of words nearly resembling each other in sound, but varying much in sense, require, no doubt, a nicety of ear to distinguish, and of vocal powers to render them exactly. To succeed in making those distinctions perfectly, a stranger should begin to learn them at an early age, while his organs are flexible and acute. A material aid, however, towards taking each word in its proper sense is afforded often by the general context of the sentence in which they are used. An English reader, for example, will scarcely recollect, when in conversation, he had any difficulty in determining whether the idea of sun (which shines), or that of son (obeying his father), was meant to be conveyed, tho the words are not to be distinguished in the pronunciation. Synonymous words are also very frequently introduced in Chinese dialogue, as has been before observed, to prevent any doubt about the intended sense. If, however, in an intricate discussion, any uncertainty should still remain as to the meaning of a particular expression, recourse is had to



the ultimate criterion of tracing with the finger in the air, or otherwise, the form of the character, and thus ascertaining at once which was meant to be expressed.

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The learner of Chinese is, besides, not puzzled with many minute rules of grammar, conjugation, or declension. There is no necessity of distinguishing substantives, adjectives, or verbs; nor any accordance of gender, number, and case, in a Chinese sentence. That language furnishes, indeed, a practical proof, that the laborious structure, and intricate machinery of the Greek and Arabic tongues, are by no means necessary either for a complete communication on all the business of life, or even to the graces of elocution, or to the harmony of verse. The beginning or end of words is not altered, as it is in the Greek verb alone, in above one thousand instances, by the times of performing the action meant to be expressed, or the cases in which the things mentioned are intended to be placed. A very few particles denote the past, the present, and the future; nor are those auxiliaries employed when the intended time may be otherwise inferred with certainty. A Chinese who means to declare his intention of departing to-morrow, never says that he *will* depart to-morrow; because the expression of the morrow is sufficient to ascertain that his departure must be future. The plural number is marked by the addition of a word, without which the singular always is implied. Neither the memory, nor the organs of

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speech are burthened with the pronunciation of more sounds to express ideas, than are absolutely necessary to mark their difference. The language is entirely monosyllabic. A single syllable always expresses a complete idea. Each syllable may be sounded by an European consonant preceding a vowel, sometimes followed by a liquid. Such an order of words, prevents the harshness of succeeding consonants sounding ill together; and renders the language as soft and harmonious as the Italian is felt to be, from the rarity of consonants, and the frequency of its vowel terminations.

The first sounds emitted probably by man, were exclamations consisting of single sounds, or monosyllables. The names, or sounds, by which men may be first supposed to have distinguished other animals, when occasion offered to designate them in their absence, were attempts at an imitation of the sounds peculiar to those beings; and still, in Chinese, the name, for example of a cat, is a pretty near resemblance of its usual cry. It occurred as naturally to endeavour, in speaking, to imitate the voice, if practicable, as it was in writing, to sketch a rude figure of the object of description. It is observable, that the radical words of most languages, separated from the servile letters, which mark their inflections, according to their conjugations or declensions, are monosyllabic. A part of each radical word is retained in composition to denote the meaning and etymology of the compound, which thus becomes



polysyllabic; but the Chinese grammarians, aware of the inconvenience resulting from the length and complication of sounds, confined all their words, however significant, of combined ideas, to single sounds; and retained only in writing, some part, at least, of the form of each character denoting a simple idea, in the compound characters, conveying complex ideas.

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There is in the Chinese a certain order, or settled syntax in the succession of words in the same sentence: a succession fixed by custom, differently in different languages; but founded on no rule or natural order of ideas, as has been sometimes supposed; for tho a sentence consists of several ideas, to be rendered by several words, those ideas, all exist and are connected together in the same instant: forming a picture, or image, every part of which is conceived at once. The formation of Chinese sentences is often the simplest and most artless possible, and such as may naturally have occurred at the origin of society. To interrogate, for example, is often, at least, to require the solution of a question, whether the subject of doubt be in a particular way, or the contrary; and accordingly, a Chinese inquiring about his friend's health, will sometimes say, *hou, poo hou?* The literal meaning of which words is, "well, not well!" A simple character, repeated, stands sometimes for more than one of the objects, which, singly, it denotes; and sometimes for a collective quantity of the same thing.

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In Chinese, there are scarcely fifteen hundred distinct sounds. In the written language, there are at least eighty thousand characters, or different forms of letters ; which number, divided by the first, gives nearly fifty senses, or characters, upon an average, to every sound expressed : a disproportion, however, that gives more the appearance, than the reality, of equivocation and uncertainty to the oral language of the Chinese. Johnson's English Dictionary affords instances of words taken in upwards of one hundred different senses, without any doubt being thereby felt in English conversation ; where, indeed, if there were, no recourse can be had for ascertaining its precise sense, as in the Chinese, to the form of the written character peculiar to each sense in which the word is received.

The number of words in any language, or at least of senses in which each word is understood, must depend chiefly on the state of civilization to which the people that use it are arrived ; and in some degree also, on the population of the country, and on the arts flourishing among them. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese dictionary should contain, at least, eighty thousand characters. Perhaps if every sense in which an English term is sometimes received, were considered as a distinct word, and the vast variety of those em-



ployed in the different arts and occupations of life, were taken into the account, the number would not be much fewer than that of the Chinese.

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The characters of the Chinese language were originally traced, in most instances, with a view to express either real images, or the allegorical signs of ideas: a circle, for example, for the sun, and a crescent for the moon. A man was represented by an erect figure, with lines to mark the extremities. It was evident that the difficulty and tediousness of imitation will have occasioned soon a change to traits more simple, and more quickly traced. Of the entire figure of a man, little more than the lower extremities only continue to be drawn, by two lines forming an angle with each other. A faint resemblance, in some few instances, still remains of the original forms in the present hieroglyphic characters; and the gradation of their changes is traced in several Chinese books. Not above half a dozen of the present characters consist each of a single line; but most of them consist of many; and a few of so many as seventy different strokes. The form of those characters has not been so flux as the sound of words, as appears in the instance of almost all the country bordering on the Chinese sea, or Eastern Asia, where the Chinese written, but not the oral language, is understood; in like manner as one form of Arabic figures to denote numbers, and one set of notes for music, are uniform and intelligible through-

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out Europe, notwithstanding the variety of its languages.

A certain order or connection is to be perceived in the arrangement of the written characters of the Chinese; as if it had been formed originally upon a system to take place at once, and not grown up, as other languages, by slow and distant intervals. Upwards of two hundred characters, generally consisting each of a few lines or strokes are made to mark the principal objects of nature, somewhat in the manner of Bishop Wilkin's divisions, in his ingenious book on the subject of universal language; or real character. These may be considered as the genera, or roots of language, in which every other word, or species, in a systematic sense, is referred to its proper genus. The heart is a genus, of which the representation of a curve line approaches somewhat to the form of the object; and the species referable to it include all the sentiments, passions, and affections, that agitate the human breast. Each species is accompanied by some mark denoting the genus, or heart. Under the genus "hand," are arranged most trades, and manual exercises. Under the genus "word," every sort of speech, study, writing, understanding, and debate. A horizontal line marks a unit; crossed by another line, it stands for ten, as it does in every nation which repeats the units after that number. The five elements of which the Chinese suppose all bodies in nature to be com-



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pounded, form so many genera, each of which comprehends a great number of species under it. As in every compound character, or species, the abridged mark of the genus is discernible by a student of that language, in a little time, he is enabled to consult the Chinese dictionary, in which the compound characters, or species, are arranged under their proper genera. The characters of these genera are placed at the beginning of the dictionary, in an order, which, like that of the alphabet, is invariable, and soon becomes familiar to the learner. The species under each genus follow each other, according to the number of strokes of which each consists, independently of the one, or few, which serve to point out the genus. The species wanted is thus soon found out. Its meaning and pronunciation are given through other words in common use, the first of which denotes its signification, and the other its sound. When no one common word is found to render exactly the same sound, it is communicated by two words, with marks, to inform the inquirer that the consonant of the first word, and the vowel of the second, joined together, form the precise sound wanted.

The composition of many of the Chinese characters often displays considerable ingenuity; and serves also to give an insight into the opinions and manners of the people. The character expressive of happiness, includes abridged marks of land, the source of their physical, and

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of children, that of their moral enjoyments. This character, embellished in a variety of ways, is hung up almost in every house. Sometimes written by the hand of the Emperor, it is sent by him as a compliment, which is very highly prized; and such as he was pleased to send to the Ambassador.

Upon the formation, changes, and allusions of compound characters, the Chinese have published many thousand volumes of philological learning. No where does criticism more abound, or is more strict. The introduction, or alteration of a character is a serious undertaking; and seldom fails to meet with opposition. The most ancient writings of the Chinese are still classical amongst them. The language seems in no instance to have been derived from, or mixed with, any other. The written, seems to have followed the oral, language soon after the men who spoke it were formed into a regular society. Tho it is likely that all hieroglyphical languages were originally founded on the principles of imitation, yet in the gradual progress towards arbitrary forms and sounds, it is probable that every society deviated from the originals, in a different manner from the others; and thus for every independent society, there arose a separate hieroglyphic language. As soon as a communication took place between any two of them, each would hear names and sounds not common to both. Each reciprocally would mark down such names, in



the sounds of its own characters, bearing, as hieroglyphics, a different sense. In that instance, consequently, those characters cease to be hieroglyphics, and were merely marks of sound. If the foreign sounds could not be expressed but by the use of a part of two hieroglyphics, in the manner mentioned to be used sometimes in Chinese dictionaries, the two marks joined together, become in fact a syllable. If a frequent intercourse should take place between communities, speaking different languages, the necessity of using hieroglyphics merely as marks of sound, would frequently recur. The practice would lead imperceptibly to the discovery that, with a few hieroglyphics, every sound of the foreign language might be expressed; and the hieroglyphics, which answered best this purpose, either as to exactness of sound, or simplicity of form, would be selected for this particular use; and, serving as so many letters, would form, in fact, together what is called an alphabet. This natural progression has actually taken place in Canton, where, on account of the vast concourse of persons, using the English language, who resort to it, a vocabulary has been published of English words in Chinese characters, expressive merely of sound, for the use of the native merchants concerned in foreign trade; and who, by such means, learn the sound of English words. To each character is annexed a mark, to denote that it is not intended to convey the idea, but merely the foreign

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sound attached to it. The habit of applying the sound, instead of the meaning of hieroglyphics, to foreign words, led to the application of them likewise as sounds, to assist the memory in the pronunciation of other hieroglyphics in the same language, but not in common use; and the repeated application of them for those purposes may be at length supposed to have effaced their original use. Thus the passage from hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing may naturally be traced, without the necessity of having “recourse to divine instruction, as some learned men have conjectured, on the ground that the art of writing by an alphabet is too refined and artificial for untutored reason.” It is, indeed, equally natural to suppose that no such art could have preceded the establishment of hieroglyphic, as that a mixture of other nations superinduced the invention of alphabetic language. The exclusive existence of the former still in China is a proof and an instance, that the number of foreigners who had ever found their way among them, as the Tartars, for example, however warlike and victorious, bore so very small a proportion to the vanquished, that it introduced no more a change in their usages and manners, than in their language.

The Chinese printed character is the same as is used in most manuscripts, and is chiefly formed of straight lines in angular positions, as most letters are in Eastern tongues; especially the Shanscrit, the characters of which,



in some instances, admit of additions to their original form, producing a modification of the sense. A running hand is used by the Chinese only on trivial occasions, or for private notes, or for the ease and expedition of the writer; and differs from the other as much as an European manuscript does from print. There are books with alternate columns of both kinds of writing, for their mutual explanation to a learner.

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The principal difficulty in the study of Chinese writings, arises from the general exclusion of the auxiliary particles of colloquial language, that fix the relation between indeclinable words, such as are all those of the Chinese language. The judgment must be constantly exercised by the student, to supply the absence of such assistance. That judgment must be guided by attention to the manners, customs, laws, and opinions of the Chinese, and to the events and local circumstances of the country, to which the allusions of language perpetually refer. If it, in general, be true that a language is difficult to be understood in proportion to the distance of the country where it is spoken, and that of him who endeavours to acquire it; because in that proportion the allusions to which language has continually recourse are less known to the learner, some idea may be conceived of the obstacles which an European may expect to meet in reading Chinese, not only from the remoteness of situation, but from the difference between him, and the native of China in

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all other respects. The Chinese characters are, in fact, sketches or abridged figures, and a sentence is often a string of metaphors. The different relations of life are not marked by arbitrary sounds, simply conveying the idea of such connection, but the qualities naturally expected to arise out of such relations become frequently the name by which they are respectively known. Kindred, for example, of every degree, is thus distinguished, with a minuteness unknown in other languages. That of China has distinct characters for every modification, known by them, of objects in the physical and intellectual world. Abstract terms are no otherwise expressed by the Chinese, than by applying to each the name of the most prominent objects to which it might be applied, which is likewise, indeed, generally the case of other languages. Among the Latins the abstract idea of virtue, for example, was expressed under the name of valour, or strength, (*virtus*), being the quality most esteemed amongst them, as filial piety is considered to be in China. The words of an alphabetic language being formed of different combinations of letters, or elemental parts, each with a distinct sound and name, whoever knows and combines these together, may read the words without the least knowledge of their meaning; not so hieroglyphic language, in which each character has, indeed, a sound annexed to it, but which bears no certain relation to the unnamed lines or strokes, of which it is composed. Such



character is studied and best learned by becoming acquainted with the idea attached to it ; and a dictionary of hieroglyphics is less a vocabulary of the terms of one language with the correspondent terms in another, than an encyclopedia, containing explanations of the ideas themselves, represented by such hieroglyphics. In such sense only can the acquisition of Chinese words be justly said to engross most of the time of men of learning among them. The knowledge of the sciences of the Chinese, however imperfect, and of their most extensive literature, is certainly sufficient to occupy the life of man. Enough, however, of the language is imperceptibly acquired by every native, and may, with diligence, be acquired by foreigners, for the ordinary concerns of life ; and further improvements must depend on capacity and opportunity.

The Viceroy promised the Ambassador that no obstruction should be given on the part of government to the acquisition of the Chinese language by foreigners. He was, indeed, confirmed in his good disposition to protect the English, by the late dispatches from the Emperor, in which his Imperial Majesty expressed how welcome the return of an English Minister to his court would be to him. He desired that notice should be immediately given to him of the Minister's arrival at Canton, to which place he should send proper persons to receive and conduct him to Peking. The Viceroy added,

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out of another letter from the Emperor, that as he meant to resign his crown in the fifty-seventh year of the current cycle, answering to the year 1796 of the Christian era, he should be glad to see such Minister by that time, or as soon afterwards as might be convenient. Thus the Embassy, according to the expectations which led to the undertaking, but contrary to the prospects which clouded it sometimes in its progress, succeeded, at length, not only in obtaining permission, but receiving an invitation, for a similar intercourse with the court of China, whenever the Government of Great Britain and the Company shall deem expedient to renew it.

The present Ambassador, and his suite, and attendants, Europeans and Chinese, continued at Canton to have all their expences defrayed by his Imperial Majesty.

This consideration alone would have been sufficient to induce his Excellency to remove to, and wait for the departure of the Lion at Macao, where he might be supposed to be out of the Chinese territories, and no longer, consequently, at the Emperor's charge. The same honours were paid to the Ambassador on his leaving, as he had received on his arriving at Canton. The attention of the Viceroy towards him was uniform throughout; his personal regard seemed to increase in proportion to his further acquaintance with his Excellency; as well as the consequent inclination he avowed in favour of



the English, whose enemies became secretly those of the Viceroy likewise.

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The Ambassador's mandarine friends, Chow and Vanta-Zhin, did not part without tears from his Excellency and the gentlemen who accompanied him, and with whom they had been most intimate. They had travelled together for several months, and through a course of more than fifteen hundred miles. During that time they lived together as familiarly, as cordially; and the two mandarines took as lively an interest in every event of the Embassy, as those could do who belonged to it. After their separation, to see each other no more, the mandarines sent on board the *Lion* presents of refreshments, and other little tokens of remembrance and regard.

The Embassy, in passing by the forts which are supposed to command the passage of the river to Macao, perceived that they were nearly in the state described by the adventurous English in the beginning of this work; but a large encampment was now, besides, observed along the eastern bank of the Kiang-ho. In general, a greater number of troops than in any of the interior provinces, were quartered throughout the frontier province of Canton, as a general measure of precaution required by its situation, and in order to awe the foreigners from different countries who resorted to its principal port.

The Ambassador was received and entertained with

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great politeness by the governor of Macao. This Portuguese settlement is situated at the southern extremity of an extensive island, separated only by rivers from the southern continent of China. This southern extremity, which, together with the harbour formed by it, had been granted by the Chinese government to the Portuguese, is connected only with the remainder of the island by a long neck of land, not exceeding a hundred yards across, which was probably formed by the sand thrown up by the opposite beating of the waves on each side. Across it a wall has been erected, which projects into the water at each end, with a gate and guardhouse in the middle, for Chinese soldiers. This wall is constructed of oyster shells, which are found, in those seas, of an enormous size, and are the same that, when divided into thin laminæ and polished, serve in the windows at Macao and the southern parts of China, as Corea paper does in the northern provinces, and glass in Europe. Beyond this boundary of the possessions of the Portuguese, they are seldom permitted to pass. Their territory on this island, is scarcely eight miles in circuit. Its greatest length, from north-east to south-west, being under three miles; and its breadth less than a mile. In this small spot the Portuguese, to whom it was granted at the period of their power and enterprize, carried on for a long time a considerable trade, not only with the Chinese empire, where they, almost alone of all Europeans, then resorted; but



likewise with other countries in Eastern Asia, particularly Japan to the east, and Tun-quin, Cochin-China, and Siam, to the south-west of China. In this traffic they soon enriched themselves, the marks of which remain in many large and costly public and private buildings in Macao, several now in a neglected state. It was so much a colony of commerce, that its government often lent money to individuals to carry it on, at a certain rate of interest, which the profits of their voyages enabled them to pay. At length luxury followed wealth. The spirit of the whole Portuguese nation declined. Those of Macao were enervated by the effects of a climate within the tropics. Events took place which deprived them of all intercourse with Japan, one great source of their advantages. Revolutions in other countries where they traded, rendered speculations there precarious, and often unfortunate to the undertakers. The settlement gradually fell from its former prosperity.

The Portuguese settlers still fit out a few vessels, and send cargoes to some of the neighbouring countries. Others lend their names, for a trifling consideration, to foreigners belonging to the Canton factories, who reside part of the year at Macao. These, with more capital, credit, connections, and enterprize, are more successful; but require to be nominally associated with Portuguese, in order to be allowed to trade from the port of Macao. The money spent in that settlement by the Canton fac-

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tories, is likewise an advantage to the place; tho some of the inhabitants consider it as more than counter-balanced by the large proportion of the profits of its trade, engrossed by those persons, which the Portuguese might otherwise enjoy. They are too proud and indolent, to descend to the lower occupations of husbandmen, or artificers. There is not, perhaps, throughout their territory a single labourer, or artist, or shopkeeper, who is a Portuguese, either by birth, or descent. The whole population amounts to about twelve thousand, considerably above half of which are Chinese. The broadest part of this little peninsula to the northward of the town, is cultivated entirely by the latter. The whole is nearly flat; and its soil is of a light and sandy texture: but by the skill and industry of its cultivators, its produce in most kinds of culinary vegetables, European and Asiatic, is sufficient for the consumption of the settlement. All the arts requisite for the comforts and convenience of life, are exercised by Chinese there. The market is supplied with grain and meat, from the Chinese part of the island, and sometimes from the mainland. The Portuguese are above pursuing any other industry than that of commerce and navigation. Beside the military governor, the public administration is in a senate, composed of the bishop, the judge, and a few other principal inhabitants. To minister to the devotion of little more than four thousand of Portu-



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gueze laity, there are thirteen churches, or chapels, and above fifty ecclesiastics, beside a French and an Italian clergyman, both of exemplary worth and piety, who are superiors of, and agents for, several of the missionaries in Eastern Asia. There are supposed to be one hundred Christian missionaries in the kingdoms of Tunkin and Cochin-China, and about two hundred thousand persons professing Christianity. Not above one hundred and sixty thousand Christians are calculated to be spread over all the Chinese empire, where priests are watched with strictness, and are exposed occasionally to persecutions. The missionaries every where, except at Peking, lead a laborious, indigent, precarious, and, as to this world, hopeless life. Their pittance from Europe is truly trifling; and this pittance they divide frequently with their flock, more miserable, sometimes, than themselves. The chief comforts of the former are derived from a consciousness of the personal attachment and veneration of those disciples towards them. Some of the missionaries may indeed, besides, prefer this independent mode of life, such as it is, to the cloisters, to which they had been formerly confined; but, in general, their conduct implies sentiments and maxims rarely to be found, and scarcely suspected to exist, by the more worldly portion of mankind.

At Macao there is a large proportion of military officers to command about three hundred privates, composed

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of mulattoes and blacks. The garrison consisted, no doubt, formerly of a much greater number, to man the citadel, forts, and ramparts meant to guard the town, and mounted, still, with many pieces of brass and iron ordnance. The bishop, a worthy but bigotted prelate, has great sway in the government; and, by his measures and example, contributes to give a tone of devotion and religious observances, as the only material occupation, to a great majority of the people. There are three monasteries for men, and a convent of about forty nuns. Nearly the same number of females of loose character are confined, and can be released only on being married. There is a striking contrast between the busy and unceasing industry of the Chinese, and the indolence of a Portugueze, sauntering about the square of the senate house in the intervals between matins and vespers. Nor is it very uncommon for an Englishman to be accosted by such a man in threadbare finery, with the addition of a bag and sword, soliciting for charity.

In the senate house, which is built of granite and two stories high, are several columns of the same material, with Chinese characters cut into them, signifying a solemn cession of the place from the Emperor of China. This solid monument is, however, an insufficient guard against the encroachments of its Chinese neighbours, who treat the Portugueze very cavalierly; exact duties sometimes in the port of Macao; punish individuals



within their walls for crimes committed against Chinese, particularly murder; and, what is not less offensive to a Portuguese, have sometimes marched with idolatrous processions through the town. Whenever resistance is attempted against such proceedings, the mandarine who commands in the little fort within sight of Macao, stops immediately the supply of provisions from their market, until they quietly submit.

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The Chinese possess two temples of pagan worship at Macao; one of them, at the southern extremity of the town, is curiously situated among a confused heap of huge masses of granite. The earth in which those masses appear to have originally been buried having been washed away, in the lapse of time, by successive showers of violent rain, the rocks must have tumbled promiscuously upon each other into the situation in which they now appear. The temple consists of three distinct buildings, one above the other, and accessible only by a winding flight of steps cut out of the solid rock. Those buildings are overshadowed by trees of such thick foliage, as not to be visible at a distance.

Of rocks brought together probably in like manner, is a cave a little below the loftiest eminence in the town, and called Camoens's Cave, from a tradition current in the settlement, that the Portuguese poet of that name, who had certainly resided a considerable time at Macao, wrote his celebrated poem of the *Lusiad* in that spot,

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of which the opposite page exhibits an engraving. This interesting cave is now in the middle of a garden belonging to a house where the Ambassador and two of his suite resided at Macao, upon an invitation from one of the gentlemen of the factory, who dwelt in it when not called upon to be at Canton. This house and garden command a very extensive prospect. In laying out the latter, none of its local advantages have been neglected. It possesses every variety of surface, and contains a number of beautiful shrubs and fruit trees, growing in such apparent irregularity as to look like the spontaneous production of the place. The walks are conducted along the various slopes, amidst groves and under hanging rocks; and those walks meeting and crossing each other, increased in effect, as to diversity and recreation, the actual dimensions of the ground.

Opposite to this garden, in the middle of the harbour, is a small circular island, which belonged formerly to the Jesuits of Macao. On this island were erected a church, a college, and an observatory. This island is naturally romantic, and, like others in the neighbourhood of Macao, has most of its surface covered with huge rocks, tumbled in confusion one upon another. Among these a circular shaded path led to the summit of the island, which is completely conical. Round the base of this rocky cone is a band or belt of level ground, about thirty or forty yards in width, part of which was laid



out for a botanical, and part for a kitchen, garden, and was well watered by springs issuing from the rocks. The whole island was defended from the sea by a parapet wall. All the improvements fell to decay with the society to which it belonged ; and the place retains only now some vestiges of its former beauties. The harbour

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in which this little island lies, is called the inner harbour, by way of contradistinction from the opposite or outer bay, more open to the sea, where ships are exposed to bad weather, especially during the north-east monsoon. It is the general observation of the mariners at Macao, that this outer bay has been gradually growing shallower for several years. It opens, on one side, into a bason formed by four islands, in which Lord Anson's ship lay formerly to be repaired; but no such ship could enter into it at present. The soundings now, are laid down in a Chart of the town, harbours, and environs of Macao, in No. 11, of the folio volume. The original was made with great care and accuracy, by a gentleman long resident upon the spot, and who presented it to the Ambassador.

Soon after his Excellency's arrival at Macao, his subsequent destination was determined by the receipt of letters from England, and from Batavia. By the former it appeared that the British government, having received no accounts that any fleet had been sent from France to the East Indies, which could endanger the China ships returning without convoy, and the public service requiring the employment of the British navy elsewhere, no English force had been ordered out for the protection of the Chinese fleet returning home. But the dispatches from Batavia, announced "the arrival, from the Isle of France, in the straits of Sunda, in the direct track of



“ the China ships, of a squadron of the enemy, consisting of one sixty-gun ship, a frigate of forty, and another of twenty guns; that they had taken the Princess Royal Indiaman, which they soon converted into a ship of war; and it was apprehended that a still larger force would follow quickly.” The account of the capture of the Pigot Indiaman, was known soon afterwards; and the danger which threatened the embarked property of the Company, to the amount of three millions sterling, on board fifteen ships, bound from Canton to England, instantly decided the Ambassador to abandon all ideas of general policy and advantage, likely to accrue from any longer stay in the archipelago, or neighbourhood, of China; and to accompany home the fleet in the *Lion*, destined to attend upon him, that he might thus secure the protection of a line of battle ship for so large a mass of British property.

This determination having been soon conveyed to different ports of Eastern Asia, two richly laden ships, one from Manilla, the other a Portuguese, put themselves also under the convoy of the *Lion*. As soon as all the ships were ready and assembled near Macao, the Ambassador embarked on board the *Lion*, leaving none of the gentlemen behind, who accompanied him to China, except Mr. Henry Baring, now a supercargo, at Canton, and the Chinese interpreter who, in the dress and name of an Englishman, continued with his Excel-

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lency until the moment of his embarkation. This worthy and pious man, after bidding an affectionate farewell to the companions of his travels, and not a little affected by the separation from them, immediately retired to a convent, where he resumed his Chinese dress, in order to proceed without delay, according to his original intention of devoting himself to the service and instruction of his poor fellow Christians, in the western provinces of China.



## CHAPTER VIII.

PASSAGE TO ST. HELENA ; NOTICES OF THAT ISLAND.  
RETURN HOME.

ON the seventeenth of March, 1794, the ships laden at Canton, for the English East India Company, joined the Lion under the little island of Samcock, near Macao. This fleet was increased by the Spanish and the Portuguese vessels mentioned in the last chapter. Scarcely any of the ships were without some force, and a good disposition of the whole co-operating with the Lion, might be equal to any strength which the enemy could bring against them in the Eastern seas. Sir Erasmus Gower assigned its station, in case of action, to each of the English ships, over which he was authorized to assume command: The Spanish captain, who had served in the navy of his own country, at this time in amity with Great Britain, and whose present ship was as strong as some of the English Indiamen, felt uneasiness, at her not being taken into the line of action, as if a reliance could not be placed upon her commander: but on the circumstance being hinted to Sir Erasmus Gower, he instantly gave that brave and loyal foreigner, for such was his

Passage to  
St. Helena.

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character, every mark of confidence and esteem, and stationed him to his perfect satisfaction.

The fleet, in steering in a southerly course, met more Chinese junks than any other vessels. Those junks sail generally with one monsoon and return with another. In the north-east monsoon they sail to Manilla, Banca, and Batavia; and return to Emouy and Canton, with that from the south-west. In tropical latitudes the height at which the quicksilver stands in the barometer, is subject to little variation, except on the approach of great commotions in the atmosphere. A fall of little more than the tenth of an inch towards the end of March, indicated foul weather; from which one of the ships suffered some damage. And the same happened again early in April.

In the straits of Banca, Sir Erasmus Gower received intelligence that the enemy's fleet had had a partial and indecisive action with some armed Indiamen, sent from Bengal to the assistance of the Dutch of Batavia; that the enemy was afterwards reinforced; but on hearing of the China ships having the convoy of a ship of war; and fearing the union of superior force against them, had quitted the station, where they had expected to encounter only unprotected merchantmen. Three armed ships from Bengal soon afterwards joined the *Lion*, and would have been of considerable use, if the enemy had waited for them.

Near the straits of Banca a squadron was met, of small



vessels, consisting of a snow, and ten Malay proas. The former carried fourteen six-pounders; and each of the latter from four to eight three-pounders. The captain of the snow was a Mahometan, apparently of Arabia, and the crews of the snow, as well as of the proas, were Malays. Those vessels were full of men, with pikes and side-arms; and the decks were strewed with a kind of grape shot, composed of siliceous pebbles inclosed in a sort of basket-work. This squadron must have been fitted out for hostile purposes, against some particular enemy; or with views of general piracy. Sir Erasmus Gower had, however, too important a charge to be diverted from it by any occasional occurrence, or to risk the delay of investigating the motives, and, if necessary, of taking measures for the punishment, of those people. It is among the advantages of the European seas, that at least the subjects of the great powers, may navigate safely through them, without any other protection than that of a pass against Barbary corsairs. In the Chinese seas, force alone can insure the safety of navigators.

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In the straits of Sunda the fleet completed its stock of wood and water, on the Java side, as preferable to that of Sumatra, for the reasons detailed in the former volume of this work.

Here the Jackall tender, having on board the tea, tallow, and varnish plants, to carry to Bengal, under the

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care of Dr. Dinwiddie, was left to accompany the armed Indiamen to Calcutta.

On the 19th of April the convoy put to sea with clear weather and favourable breezes. They soon launched out into the great Indian ocean, little interrupted by continents or islands, and where the course of the winds from the south-east, obeying the general causes of their motion, remains steady and regular in the same parallel of latitude. The convoy sailed generally in a line, sometimes about twenty degrees and afterwards twenty-five degrees to the southward of the Equator; and several degrees to the northward of the course which the same ships found it necessary to pursue in going out from Europe. The Chart No. 1. in the folio volume, shews where the outward and homeward passage crossed each other. In the latter nothing could be more uniform and pleasant, than the weather and navigation, during an entire month, across the great Indian ocean, from the western points of Java and Sumatra, until the ships approached the meridian of the vast island of Madagascar, and the southern coast of Africa. The atmosphere thereabouts became overspread with clouds, and the wind changed from the north-east to the point directly opposite. The quicksilver in a marine barometer, so suspended as not to be affected by the motion of the ship, fell suddenly upwards of one quarter of an inch. The depressions of that fluid in the former part of the voyage had not exceeded one-tenth of



an inch ; yet that small change had always been observed to be followed by a correspondent change of the weather : so certain a prognostic as this instrument had been found to be on every occasion, established its reputation among the officers ; and it was consulted by them daily. In the present instance, when the fall was so much greater than it had ever been remarked at any one time before, no inconsiderable degree of alarm was excited, and precaution taken against the impending storm, which seemed to approach very rapidly. Scarcely was all, in technical language, made snug, when the tempest burst by one of the most tremendous crashes of thunder ever heard, together with several successive flashes of the most vivid lightning. The air was likewise so dense that one end of the ship was not visible from the other. The rain fell in torrents. There was no wind. In a few minutes the atmosphere becoming somewhat clearer, the *Glatton*, one of the English ships from Canton, was discovered within about a quarter of a mile of the *Lion* ; the mizen-top and mizen-top-gallant masts of the former being carried away, and the mizen-mast shivered to pieces by the lightning. It struck the after part of the ship when the Captain and officers were at dinner ; several of them were much stunned, and received shocks in different parts of the body ; but none were materially injured. It was found that the lightning had followed a bell-wire that led down to the surgeon's cabin below, and, meeting with an inter-

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ruption there, had blown out the port. The quicksilver gradually ascended in the tube as the weather cleared up.

On the 23d of May the weather became again dark and cloudy. The quicksilver sunk still lower than before. The night was squally, and the wind blew sometimes so excessively hard, that several of the Lion's sails were split and carried away; and she was obliged to be directed only by, or to lie to, under a fore-sail and storm stay-sail. In the morning it was found that the convoy had been dispersed. The weather continued violent. The quicksilver continued to descend; and this descent was followed by a most violent gale of wind. The Hindostan sprung or cracked her fore-mast; more sails of the Lion were split, and she hove to under a balanced mizen. In the morning five only of the convoy were in sight.

Such was the tempestuous weather during which the fleet doubled the Cape of Good Hope, steering towards the island of St. Helena; which is so small a speck in the southern part of the Atlantic ocean, that unless a ship sails in the precise track in which it lies, it may be missed; nor can a vessel once to the westward of it return to it but by a prodigious circuit to the southward or northward, in order to get to the south-east, from whence the trade wind blows generally towards it. On the 18th of June Sir Erasmus Gower was joined by all the ships under his convoy, and also by his Majesty's



ships the Samson and Argo, from Europe. They were all then in sight of St. Helena, the lofty sides of which bear so terrific and inhospitable an appearance, that, probably had there been a cluster of islands in its neighbourhood, as, for example, at Tristan d'Acunha, this apparent heap of rocks would have got the name of "Inaccessible," and have been the last that would have been attempted to be visited.

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The fleet, in doubling the island, kept within pistol-shot of its steep and rocky coast, in order to secure their anchorage in the road opposite to a valley, of which the pleasing scenes are justly said, by an ingenious traveller, "to be laid in the lap of horror."

St. Helena lies in the southern part of the Atlantic ocean, distant many degrees of longitude and latitude from any continent or other island; and may be considered as the summit of a great mountain, whose roots are buried in the bottom of the sea. Above its surface the island rises in towering eminences hid frequently in the clouds. The ashes of a volcano cover still some parts of it; and the whole has probably been protruded upwards by the immense power of subaqueous fire. However, no part of the island hitherto examined, seems to have undergone any degree of liquefaction. No layers of minerals, and few of stone, have been discovered within its bowels. The summit of the island is wooded; but is so cold, that fruits will scarcely ripen in it. Clear rills of water issue

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from the highest peaks, and take their course abruptly down, towards the vallies, which they contribute to fertilize. Storms are little known in the immediate neighbourhood of this island. Thunder is rarely heard, or lightning perceived in it; from whence it is conjectured that little electric matter is scattered in its atmosphere.

The circumference of St. Helena measures somewhat less than twenty-eight miles. Along the whole coast to leeward, or to the northward, ships may anchor in perfect security in all seasons of the year; but the bank shelves so abruptly afterwards, that the anchorage, being in deep water, is insecure. The tide seldom rises above three feet and a half; but the surge of the sea is sometimes tremendous; and several accidents happened in approaching or quitting the shore, until a wharf was erected, lately, which renders the arrival there, and departure from it, perfectly safe.

This little spot was discovered upwards of two centuries ago by the Portugueze. It was taken from them by the English; surprised, from the latter, by the Dutch; and, lastly, recovered by the English, likewise by surprise. The steep eminences which intervene between the vallies, that are the chief seats of population, render the communication from one part of the island to another, slow and difficult. Planters on the windward side of the island consider a journey to the leeward, or seat of government, as a serious undertaking. Several of them



take that opportunity of paying their respects to the governor, which is called there sometimes "going to court." There are St. Helena planters who have not travelled so far. At present, by order of the governor, there are signals so placed all over the island as to give instant notice of the approach of vessels to any part of it.

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The situation of St. Helena, in the track of the ships from India and China to Europe, induced the Directors of the East India Company to turn their attention towards rendering it a place of convenient and comfortable refreshment, particularly in the passage home. This has been effected at no inconsiderable expence. Before the island was inhabited, the spontaneous productions that it yielded which could be of any use to man, are said to have been little more than celery and purslian. Cattle, fruits, and vegetables have since been introduced into it from India, Africa, and Europe; and human industry has, in a little time, enabled it not only to supply sufficient provisions for its ordinary sojourners; but to afford refreshments of most kinds to the various visitors that stand in need of them after landing from a long voyage. The numbers of such visitors, including the crews as well as passengers of the ships lying there at anchor, is sometimes equal to the whole number of the settlement. The chief officers, passengers, and invalids, reside generally ashore during the stay of their respec-

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tive ships. There are no inns; but every house is open for the reception of strangers, who are considered, for the time, as a part of the family. A moderate compensation is fixed for the host, in return for all the comforts which he ministers to his guests. For those who remain chiefly on board, quantities of fresh meat and vegetables, so grateful and so wholesome after a long marine diet, are furnished at regulated prices to the ships. Supplies of fresh water and fuel are also provided for the remainder of their voyage. In the year 1794, the island had not long recovered from a great calamity. The same general causes which occasioned the drought at St. Jago, mentioned in the first volume of this work, extended probably their baneful influence over the Atlantic, and affected severely St. Helena. Of the stock, alone, of horned cattle, the loss was computed at three thousand, through want of food and water. The evil raged the same length of time, about three years, as it did nearer to the coast of Africa; but partly from the natural resources of the country, and partly from the management of government, it was much less fatal in its effects at the island of St. Helena, than at those of the Cape de Verd; and few traces of it appeared in the former, when the Embassy passed there. Verdure was restored to the vallies, and to such higher grounds as were not too steep to retain the moisture with which they had been blessed. Lands laid out in gardens, were improved with considerable



advantage to the proprietors. Those of the garrison were sufficient to provide plenty of wholesome vegetables for the sick as well as healthy soldiers. For this purpose the humane governor, desirous to derive public advantage from private offences, allowed the delinquent soldiers to commute for labour at the military gardens, the punishments to which they were condemned.

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Several sorts of fruit trees imported into the island, had been destroyed by a particular insect; but encouragement has been given for the cultivation of those which that mischievous animal is known to spare, such as the apple, for example, with all the varieties of which it is susceptible. The plantain and banana, or the two species of the *musa*, thrive also remarkably well. The ground is fertile, and in favourable seasons produces, in some instances, double crops within the year. Plantations, however, of cotton, indigo, or canes were not found to answer: tho some good coffee has been produced in it. A botanic garden has been established near the governor's country house. An intelligent gardener has been sent to take care of it by the Company; and a vast variety of trees, plants, and flowers of different, and sometimes opposite climates, are already collected in it. The surrounding sea abounds in esculent fish; and seventy different species, including turtle, have been caught upon its coasts. Whales are seen in great numbers playing round the island, where it is supposed the

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southern whale fishery might be carried on to great national advantage.

The country is chiefly cultivated by blacks. Persons of that colour were brought in a state of slavery to it by its first European settlers ; and it seldom happens that white men will submit to common work where there are black slaves to whom it may be transferred. These were for a long time under the unlimited dominion of their owners, until a representation of the abuses made of that power, induced the India Company to place them under the immediate protection of the magistracy, and to enact various regulations in their favour ; which have contributed to render them, in a great degree, comfortable and secure. These regulations may have hurt, at first, the feelings of the owners of slaves, but not their real interest ; for it appears, that before their introduction there was a loss, upon an average, of about ten in a hundred slaves every year, to be supplied at a very heavy expence ; whereas, under the present system, they naturally increase. All future importation of slaves into the island is prohibited.

Besides the blacks in a state of slavery, there are some who are free. The labour of these tending to diminish the value of that of slaves, the free blacks became once obnoxious to some slave owners ; who had sufficient influence, in a grand jury, to present them as without visible means of gaining a livelihood, and liable to become



burdensome to the community; but upon examination it appeared that all free blacks of age to work, were actually employed; that not one of them had been tried for a crime for several years, nor had any of them been upon the parish. They are now, by the humane interposition of the Company, placed under the immediate protection of the government, and put nearly upon a footing with the other free inhabitants, who, when accused of crimes, have the privilege of a jury, as well as in civil causes.

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While ships are riding in the roads, and the inhabitants busy in supplying their wants, or eager to entertain their guests, their minds occupied also with the foreign events, of which the strangers bring accounts to them, any dissensions subsisting among individuals in the place are suspended for the time; but it is said, that when the shipping season is over, and the settlement is void of business, as well as of topics of discussion on distant incidents, intestine divisions sometimes revive; it is, however, an object of government to divert their minds from private feuds, by engaging them in military exercises, or even in domestic amusements, and dramatic entertainments.

The principal settlement of St. Helena has the peculiar advantage of uniting the shelter of a leeward situation, with the coolness of windward gales. The south-east wind blows constantly down the valley, rendering

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a residence in it pleasant as well as healthy. The country is so fertile, and the climate so congenial to the human feelings, that perhaps it would be difficult to find out a spot where persons, not having acquired a relish for the enjoyments of the world, or already advanced in life, and surfeited with them, could have a better chance of protracting their days in ease, health, and comfort.

The hills on each side this happy valley, like those which present themselves to the sea, are extremely steep; and require several alternate traverses to render the ascent along them practicable. From the heights the view downwards to the sea is indeed tremendous. It is related upon the spot that an unfortunate mariner, willing, in the gaiety of his humour, to throw from thence a pebble on the deck of his ship, lying at anchor at a distance in the road, he launched it from the overhanging precipice with such unrestrained exertion, that his own body obeyed the impulse, and he flew headlong into the wide gulf below. A man on board the *Lion*, while at anchor in twenty fathoms or one hundred and twenty feet water, made at this time some bold but successful experiments. This man, who was a native of the Sandwich Islands, plunged frequently from the gunwale of the vessel into the sea, to catch dollars thrown into it for that purpose: he caught them before they reached the bottom; as from their two opposite flat surfaces they descended in so vibratory a



direction, that he had an opportunity of overtaking them : he would also bring up two dollars at once, one thrown towards the head, and another towards the stern of the ship. His activity was indeed surprising in every instance where he had occasion to shew it : he would suffer two Europeans to throw spears at him at the same time, both of which he would divert with, or take in, his hands as they approached him. This man, so extraordinary for his agility, was found in the Republican brig *Amelie* when captured by Sir Erasmus Gower. He passed with apparent willingness on board the *Lion*, perhaps as the larger vessel, where he had been some months, but could not utter one word of French or English ; and probably he was not sensible what powers he had served, or that he had altered his allegiance. He was of an open countenance, not unpleasing features, and of a good-natured disposition. Had the powers of his mind been exercised as those of his body were, it is possible that the former might have acquired as remarkable a proficiency as the latter had done. Man is formed, probably, by his nature and his organization, to excel other animals equally in mental and corporeal faculties.

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On the first of July the fleet, sufficiently refreshed to continue the voyage, tho the supplies were scarcer and dearer on account of the late drought, sailed from St. Helena. The convoy was strengthened by the *Samson*

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and Argo, and was joined by three Indiamen from Bengal, two from Bombay, and a whaler from the South Seas. The variation of the needle at St. Helena was observed to be then sixteen degrees sixteen minutes west, having increased two degrees in the ten preceding years.

The fleet steered a north-westerly course to the Equator, which was crossed twenty-four degrees of longitude west of Greenwich. The south-east or trade wind continued, not only from St. Helena to the Line, but to the latitude of twelve degrees north; where a calm detained the ships about ten days. The wind, at length, sprung up from the northern quarter, and veering through the east, it gradually became more steady from the south and west.

During the passage a party of the gentlemen belonging to the Embassy went on board the Ceres Indiaman, to try the effect of a marine chair, made after a model laid before the Board of Longitude by Sir Joseph Sentouse. The ship was rolling considerably; yet the chair maintained its horizontal position; and distant objects were kept with great ease within the field of the telescope. Whether such an instrument will ever be brought to such perfection that the satellites of Jupiter may be observed upon it with a telescope in all kinds of weather, so as to deduce the longitude from their immersions and emersions, may be justly doubted; as a great difficulty seems to arise from the effect of a sudden and complicated



motion of the ship produced in cross and confused seas, and to which no correspondent adjustment of the instrument, acting with sufficient quickness to preserve it constantly in an horizontal position, has been yet discovered. The present chair, however, in moderate weather, may afford material assistance in making such observations; and must, in the heaviest seas, facilitate the operation of taking, with a sextant, the angular distances of the heavenly bodies; which, otherwise, without great practice and dexterity, is attended with no slight difficulty on such occasions.

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On the twenty-first of July, a fleet of ships was descried to the north-east, and soon eleven sail were counted; five of which appeared to be of considerable magnitude. These were observed to have formed a line of battle abreast, and to bear down towards the convoy, while the others lay to, to windward. The *Lion*, *Samson*, and *Argo*, formed a line ahead, and the merchantmen were directed to keep to leeward. The private signals were not answered, and the strangers were concluded to be enemies. The weather was very thick; and a heavy cloud accompanied with rain descended between the opposite fleets, and hid them for many minutes entirely from one another. The distance between them before was small; and as they were standing directly towards each other, it was every moment expected that an engagement would take place amidst

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the fog and rain. The Lion was cleared for action. Several cumbersome articles were thrown over board. Nothing remained upon the decks, except powder and ball, and cannon. The lower deck guns were run out, the drum beat to quarters, and every man was ordered to his station. The medical men were descending to the cock-pit, or bottom of the ship, where in general, out of the reach of shot, they could attend such as should happen to be wounded in the action. The passengers were to act as volunteers; except a boy, whom his father, who was present, thought much too young for such a situation, and proposed to send with the surgeons to the cock-pit. The youth, however, tho not affecting to be insensible of the danger, revolted from the idea of screening himself from it, while his parent was exposed, and earnestly solicited to remain with him upon deck. This contest of sentiment and affection was, indeed, soon decided, by the disappearance of the fog, which discovered the opposite ships close to each other, but all of them English. The strangers were a fleet of Indiamen from England, under convoy of the Assistance ship of war, whose new signals, not yet communicated to Sir Erasmus Gower, were not consequently understood by him.

The homeward bound fleet continued its course with variable winds, not making any rapid progress. They passed near the Western islands in the middle of August,



when the Spanish and Portugeze ships left them to proceed directly to their own coasts. On the second of September, the fleet were within sight of the southern extremity of Ireland, and spoke a Danish ship that, on the twenty-ninth of August, had been examined by a squadron of seven sail of French men of war, within not many miles of which, it appeared upon computation, that Sir Erasmus Gower's much weaker ships must have passed a very few days before. In steering afterwards for the English Channel, he had some difficulty in keeping sufficiently to the southward of the Scilly Islands, and in stemming the current which impels vessels to the northward, as is observed and explained by Major Rennell. In sailing up the British Channel, in the night of the fifth of September, the whole convoy were alarmed by the sudden encounter of a vast fleet of large ships steering, with crowded sails, in the opposite direction. It was the grand fleet of Earl Howe. The weather was dark and extremely tempestuous. The consequences of such vessels striking, in the vehemence of their course, those of a smaller size, might be more fatal to the latter than an engagement with an enemy. The masts and yards only, however, of some of the ships run foul of each other, with considerable damage. The next day the Lion anchored in Portsmouth harbour, from whence the Ambassador and other passengers landed, after an absence of near two years; during which time the former

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had the satisfaction of serving his country, in a situation both of much novelty and delicacy. The scenes and objects which the rest had an opportunity of observing, left a gratifying and durable impression upon the minds of many of them, beyond all the events of the former period of their lives.



# APPENDIX.

## I.

*Table of the Population and Extent of China proper, within the Great Wall. Taken in round Numbers from the Statements of Chow-ta-Zbin.*

Provinces.	Population.	Square Miles.	Acres.
Pe-che-lee	38,000,000	58,949	37,727,360
Kiang-nan, } 2 provinces }	32,000,000	92,961	59,495,040
Kiang-see	19,000,000	72,176	46,192,640
Tche-kiang	21,000,000	39,150	25,056,000
Fo-chen -	15,000,000	53,480	34,227,200
Hou-pe { Hou-quang Hou-nan }	14,000,000 13,000,000	144,770	92,652,800
Ho-nan -	25,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Chan-tung	24,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Shan-see	27,000,000	55,268	35,371,520
Shen-see	18,000,000	154,008	98,565,120
Kan-sou -	12,000,000		
Se-chuen	27,000,000	166,800	106,752,000
Canton -	21,000,000	79,456	50,851,840
Quang-see	10,000,000	78,250	50,080,000
Yu-nan -	8,000,000	107,969	69,100,160
Koei-cheou	9,000,000	64,554	41,314,560
	333,000,000	1,297,999	830,719,360

## II.

*Account of Revenue received into the Imperial Treasury at Peking, from the different Provinces of China proper. Taken from the same.*

Provinces.	Tahels, or Ounces of Silver.	Total Tahels.	Measures of Rice and other Grain.	Population. Millions of People.
Pe-che-lee	2,520,000 Land 437,000 Salt 79,000 other Tax.	3,036,000	None.	38
Kiang-nan	5,200,000 Land 2,100,000 Salt 910,000 Taxes	8,210,000	1,440,000	32
Kiang-see	1,900,000 Land 220,000 Taxes	2,120,000	795,000	19
Tche-kiang	3,100,000 Land 520,000 Salt 190,000 Taxes	3,810,000	780,000	21
Fo-chen -	1,110,000 Land 87,000 Salt 80,000 Taxes	1,277,000	None.	15
Hou-pe { Hou-quang Hou-nan }	1,300,000 Land 10,000 Taxes 1,310,000 Land 35,000 Taxes	1,310,000 1,345,000	100,000 100,000	14 13
Ho-nan -	3,200,000 Land 13,000 Taxes	3,213,000	230,000	25
Chan-tung	3,440,000 Land 130,000 Salt 30,000 Taxes	3,600,000	360,000	24
Shan-see -	3,100,000 Land 510,000 Salt 112,000 Taxes	3,722,000	None.	27
Shen-see -	1,660,000 Land 40,000 Taxes	1,700,000	None.	18
Kan-sou -	300,000 Land 40,000 Taxes	340,000	220,000	12
Se-chuen -	640,000 Land 30,000 Taxes	670,000	None.	27
Canton -	1,280,000 Land 50,000 Salt 10,000 Taxes	1,340,000	None.	21
Quang-see	420,000 Land 50,000 Salt 30,000 Taxes	500,000	None.	10
Yu-nan -	210,000 Land	210,000	220,000	8
Koei-cheou	120,000 Land 10,000 Salt 15,000 Taxes	145,000	None.	9
	Tahels	36,548,000	4,245,000	333

III.

A List of the chief Civil Officers of China, distinguishing their Number, Station, and Salaries.

N <sup>o</sup>		Salary of each. per ann.	Total.
11	The Tson-too, or viceroy, over one or more provinces - - -	Tahels 20,000	220,000
15	The Foyen, or governor, under him, of each province - - -	16,000	240,000
19	The Hou-poo, or fiscal, the chief officer of revenue - - -	9,000	171,000
18	The An-za-tze, or president of the criminal tribunal - - -	6,000	108,000
86	The Tao-quen, or governor, presiding over more than one city of the first order, and their dependencies -	3,000	258,000
184	The Fou-quen, or governor, only of one city of the first order, and its dependencies - - -	2,000	368,000
149	The Kiou-quen, or governor, of a city of the second order - - -	1,000	149,000
1305	The Sien-quen, or governor, of a city of the third order - - -	800	1,044,000
17	The Siou-jou, or president of science and examinations - - -	3,000	402,000
117	The Cho-tao, or inspectors general }		
			2,960,000

IV.

A List of the chief Military Officers of China, their Number, Rank, and Salaries.

	Rank.	Salary of each per ann.	Total.
N <sup>o</sup>		Tahels.	Tahels.
18	The Tou-tou - - -	4,000	72,000
62	The Zun-ping - - -	2,400	148,800
121	The Fou-zien - - -	1,300	157,300
165	The Tchou-zien - - -	800	132,000
373	The Giou-zi - - -	600	223,800
425	The Tou-tze - - -	400	170,000
825	The Sciou-fou - - -	320	264,000
1680	The Zien-zun - - -	160	268,800
3622	The Pa-zun - - -	130	470,870
44	The commissaries of corn and provisions of the first rank, Sciou-zun	320	14,080
330	The commissaries of corn and provisions of the second rank, Zien-zun - - -	160	52,800
			1,974,450

A rough Calculation of the Military Establishment of China.

1,000,000 Infantry, at two ounces, or tahels of silver each per month, provisions included - - -	24,000,000
800,000 Cavalry, at four ounces each, provisions included - - -	38,400,000
If 800,000 horses cost, at twenty ounces each = 16,000,000 ounces, the annual wear and tear at ten per cent. will be	1,600,000
Uniforms for 1,800,000 men, once a year, at four ounces each - -	7,200,000
Yearly wear and tear of arms, accoutrements, contingencies, &c. at one ounce per man, on 1,800,000 men - -	1,800,000
	73,000,000
	74,974,450

V.

Trade of the English and other Europeans to, and from, China.

A few years ago, the exports to China, on the Company's account, in English goods and in English bottoms, scarcely exceeded £. 100,000 per annum. The private trade was nearly as much. The balance for teas and other goods was paid in silver. Since the Commutation Act, the exports have been gradually rising, but are yet far from having reached their highest point. There were imported into Canton in 1792, from England, in sixteen Company's ships, to the amount of near £. 1,000,000, in lead, tin, woollens, together with furs, and other articles of private trade. The order for woollens only the following year, was £. 250,000 higher than the preceding year.

The value of exports from China to England in 1794, was above £. 1,500,000 prime cost, beside freight and charges of merchandize, and will have probably produced above £. 3,000,000.

The legal trade from the British dependencies in India to Canton, in 1792, amounted to very near the sum of £. 700,000 besides opium, which is clandestinely imported there, to the amount of about £. 250,000. The articles legally imported consisted of cotton, tin, pepper, sandal wood, elephants teeth, and bees wax.

The exports from Canton to India, amounted only, in 1792, to £. 330,000, leaving a vast balance in favour of India, which is paid in cash. The articles purchased for India, consist chiefly of raw and wrought silk, sugar, and sugar candy, tutenag, alum, porcelain, camphor, Nankeen cloth, quicksilver, and turmeric.

The total imports from foreign European nations to Canton, in 1792, amounted to £. 200,000, and their exports to upwards of £. 600,000. Many of the imports were of British manufacture.



VI.

*Account of Teas exported from China to Europe in Foreign and English Ships; the former from the Diaries transmitted to England by the English Supercargoes; the latter from the Invoices of Ships arrived safe.*

Exported from China, in Season, ending	Foreign Ships.	Tea. lb.	English Ships.	Tea. lb.	Total Ships.	Total Weight. lb.
March 1772	8 containing	9,407,564	20 containing	12,712,283	28	22,119,847
1773	11 do	13,652,738	13 do	8,733,176	24	22,385,914
1774	12 do	13,838,267	8 do	3,762,594	20	17,600,861
1775	15 do	15,652,934	4 do	2,095,424	19	17,748,358
1776	12 do	12,841,596	5 do	3,334,416	17	16,176,012
1777	13 do	16,112,000	8 do	5,549,087	21	21,661,087
1778	15 do	13,302,665	9 do	6,199,283	24	19,501,948
1779	11 do	11,302,266	7 do	4,311,358	18	15,613,624
1780	10 do	12,673,781	5 do	4,061,830	15	16,735,611
	107	lb. 118,783,811	79	lb. 50,759,451	186	lb. 169,543,262
Average of 9 Years	12	lb. 13,198,201	9	lb. 5,639,939	21	lb. 18,838,140

The best information procurable estimates the annual consumption of tea by foreigners in Europe at most	lb. 5,500,000	Consumed by foreigners in Europe at most	lb. 5,500,000
Must have been smuggled into Great Britain and her dependencies at least	lb. 7,698,201	Consumed by Great Britain and her dependencies at least	lb. 13,338,140

which at 700,000 lb. per ship, would employ 38 large ships constantly in the China trade, instead of 18 ships, as above, most of which were small. One fleet is going out, when another is coming home.

The above is exclusive of private trade Teas, brought legally and illegally into Europe. Confidential information asserts, that the English ships have often smuggled from 1000 to 3000 chests of Tea each; also that the foreign captains bring a large quantity of Tea, which they either smuggle at sea, or throw into the sea, the punishment being severe. The loss to the public on 1000 chests of Hyson Tea smuggled, is above 20,000l.

Average quantities for one year of each sort of Tea, sold by the East India Company in ten years, from March Sale 1773 to September Sale 1782 inclusive, exclusive of private trade, which was trifling.

Bohea	-	-	-	lb. 3,075,307
Congou	-	-	-	523,272
Souchong and Pekoe	-	-	-	92,572
Singlo	-	-	-	1,832,474
Hyson	-	-	-	218,839
				lb. 5,742,464

*A Plan to prevent Smuggling Tea, by taking off all the present Duties of Customs and Excise on Tea, and laying a small Tax on such Houses only as pay the Window Tax; by which means the Kingdom at large would be greatly benefited, as hereafter described. Submitted to Government in 1783.*

Total of real Tea consumed in Great Britain and her dependencies, lb. 13,300,000 per Annum, which would employ 38 ships and 4560 seamen constantly in the China trade, instead of 18 ships and 2000 seamen.

The amount of Customs and Excise on Tea on an average, without deducting the heavy charges of collection and management, is, per Annum, about - - - - £. 700,000

Proposed that each house, charged with the Window tax, be also charged as followeth, per Ann.

	Houses under 7 Windows each	-	286,296	at	s.	d.		
	7 to 10 ditto	-	211,483		10	6	£. 150,305	
	11 ditto	-	38,324		16	—	169,186	
	12 to 13 ditto	-	25,919		21	—	40,240	
	14 to 19 ditto	-	67,652		31	6	40,822	
Some of these might be rated much higher and produce £. 100,000 more					42	—	142,069	
	20 and upwards	-	52,403		70	—	183,410	
			<hr/>					
	England and Wales		682,077	houses			£. 726,032	
	Scotland		17,734	-	10	6 on an average	} 9,310	
			<hr/>					
	Houses		699,811					£. 735,342
			<hr/>					<hr/>



The following Statement will shew the advantage arising to those whose houses are to be taxed in lieu of Customs and Excise.

Prices of tea at the Company's sales on an average of 10 years, from March, 1773 to September, 1782 inclusive, discount deducted, out of which the Company pay the customs.

	Bohea. s. d. 2 4 <sup>29</sup> per lb.	Congou. s. d. 4 3 <sup>88</sup> per lb.	Souchong. s. d. 5 2 <sup>55</sup> per lb.	Singlo. s. d. 4 2 <sup>81</sup> per lb.	Hyson. s. d. 8 5 <sup>39</sup> per lb.
Excise on the same paid by the Buyers.	1 11 <sup>39</sup>	2 6 <sup>93</sup>	2 10 <sup>34</sup>	2 6 <sup>59</sup>	3 10 <sup>78</sup>
Cost the Buyers in 1782.	4 3 <sup>68</sup>	6 10 <sup>81</sup>	8 — <sup>89</sup>	6 9 <sup>40</sup>	12 4 <sup>17</sup>
Would cost on the proposed Plan.	1 8 <sup>57</sup>	2 5 <sup>92</sup>	3 3 <sup>27</sup>	3 3 <sup>27</sup>	5 7 <sup>32</sup>
Saved by Consumer.	2 7 <sup>11</sup>	4 4 <sup>81</sup> per lb.	4 9 <sup>62</sup> per lb.	3 6 <sup>13</sup> per lb.	6 8 <sup>85</sup> per lb.

Saved as before stated.

A common family consumes per Annum, at least 15 lb. of Bohea	s. d. 2 7 per lb.	or	£ 1 18 9
Deduct Tax on the House	- - -		— 10 6
The family will save per Annum by this plan	- - -		£ 1 8 3

Ditto ditto - 15 lb. Bohea	s. d. 2 7 per lb.	or	£ 1 18 9
Deduct Tax on the House	- - -		— 16 —
The family will save per Annum by this plan	- - -		£ 1 2 9

A middling family consumes per Ann. 12 lb. of Congou and Singlo	s. d. 4 4 <sup>89</sup> 3 6 <sup>13</sup>	Saved. s. d. 12 lb. 3 11 per lb.	or	£ 2 7 —
saved on 1 lb. of Congou ditto 1 lb. of Singlo				
	7 11 <sup>2</sup>			

Average - - -	s. d. 3 11 <sup>51</sup>			
3 lb. Hyson	- - -	s. d. 6 8 ditto	-	1 — —
15 lb.				£ 3 7 —
Deduct Tax on the House	- - -			1 1 —

The family will save by this plan - - - £ 2 6 —

Ditto 8 lb. of Congou and Singlo	- - -	at 3s. 11d. per lb. or	£ 1 11 4
and 8 ditto Hyson	- - -	6s. 8d. ditto	2 13 4

Deduct Tax on the House	- - -		4 4 8
			1 11 6

The family will save per Annum by this plan - - - £ 2 13 2

A common genteel family ditto 16 lb. Hyson	- - -	at 6s. 8d. per lb. or	£ 5 6 8
Deduct Tax on the House	- - -		2 2 —

The family will save per Annum by this plan - - - 3 4 8

A genteel family - ditto 24 lb. Hyson	- - -	at 6s. 8d. per lb. or	£ 8 — —
Deduct Tax on the House	- - -		3 10 —

The family will save per Annum by this plan - - - 4 10 —

## APPENDIX.

			s. d.	s. d.		
The Inhabitants of	286,296	houses taxed at	10 6	save 28 3	per ann. amounting to	£ 404,393
ditto	211,483	ditto	16 0	do 22 9	ditto	240,561
ditto	38,324	ditto	21 0	do 46 0	ditto	88,145
ditto	25,919	ditto	31 6	do 53 2	ditto	68,901
ditto	67,652	ditto	42 0	do 64 8	ditto	218,741
ditto	52,403	ditto	70 0	do 90 0	ditto	235,813
Saved by Inhabitants of	682,077	Houses taxed in England and Wales,	-	-	-	£ 1,256,554
ditto	-	ditto untaxed in ditto	-	-	-	-
ditto	-	ditto - - Scotland and Ireland, &c.	-	-	-	-

Although the foregoing plan is founded on the consumption of only 13,000,000 lb. per ann. there is great reason to believe 18 or 20,000,000 of pounds of *real Tea* would be consumed at moderate prices, as it is well known that many millions of pounds of ash, sloe, and other leaves of trees are annually dyed and sold as Tea, notwithstanding three acts of parliament, have been made to prevent such practices, viz. about 1724, 1730, and 1776.

The inhabitants of almost every house in the kingdom drink some Tea; those who do not, will receive more benefit than the amount of the tax from the increased advantages already mentioned, the participation of three-fourths of the profits on the extra quantity of Tea that will be sold by the East-India Company, the keeping in this their native country a very considerable sum per ann. that at present is paid to foreigners for Tea smuggled, beside the national advantage to accrue by building and repairing the increased number of ships, making masts, sails, rigging, &c. the providing stores of various kinds for them, and employing above 2400 extra sailors. As the British shipping, trade, and profits will be increased, if this plan is adopted, those of other nations will be decreased.

*Observations necessary to attend the Plan for taking off the Duties of Customs and Excise on Tea, imported by the English East-India Company.*

The Underwriters at Lloyd's Coffee-house do not remember any *foreign ship* coming from China to Europe, being lost during the Seasons 1772 to 1783, therefore the quantities of tea exported from China, as per Plan, in foreign ships, certainly arrived in Europe.

Presumptive proofs of the quantities of *Tea, real and factitious*, consumed in Great Britain and Ireland.

Almost all the poor in the manufacturing towns, and on the sea coasts, drink tea constantly; as also the greater part of most other towns and villages; the genteel people in every part of the kingdom drink tea. The poorest person uses  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 ounces per Week, or 5 lb. to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lb. per Annum. \*

According to Dr. Price there are 5,000,000 persons in England and Wales.

The Rev. Mr. Howlett says 9,000,000 ditto

The Right Hon. Edmund Burke supposes 6,000,000 ditto, or rather more.

Suppose only 6,000,000, and that half of them are children and others who do not drink tea, which is making a large allowance; there remains 3,000,000 persons at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lb. each, at least,  
or 16,500,000 consumed in England and Wales.  
and 1,500,000 exported annually, chiefly to Ireland.

lb. 18,000,000

Exclusive of the above, several millions of pounds weight are consumed annually in Ireland, Scotland, and the West Indies.

The following Statement, I believe, is true, and nearly agrees with the foregoing account.

Tea delivered annually from the Company's warehouses for home consumption	-	-	lb. 4,500,000
Ditto exported annually, chiefly to Ireland	-	-	1,500,000
Ditto smuggled, and manufactured in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, about	-	-	4,000,000
Ditto ditto ditto in Hampshire and Sussex ditto	-	-	3,000,000
Ditto ditto ditto in Kent ditto	-	-	2,000,000
Ditto ditto ditto in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk ditto	-	-	3,000,000

lb. 18,000,000

Consumed in Ireland, Scotland, the North of England, and the West Indies, beside the } Several millions of  
lb. 1,500,000, afore-mentioned } pounds weight.  
So that all above lb. 13,300,000, or thereabout, appear to be factitious tea.

\* On the coasts of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, &c. the poor cannot afford small beer; their only beverage is smuggled Bohea Tea without sugar, mixed with skimmed milk; those people, already miserable, would be much more so, if debarred from such cheap and wholesome drink.



Three acts of Parliament passed in or about 1724, 1730, and 1776, to inflict penalties on persons who should thereafter be convicted of dying or altering tea, or manufacturing ash, sloe, or liquorice-tree leaves, or any other leaves to represent tea. I presume the Parliament had strong proofs of the practice before them at those times; if not, they might have had; and may now. In 1745, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the pernicious effects of smuggling. Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen published their Report, with observations. Similar evils now exist. The Lords of his Majesty's Treasury may order the officers of Customs and Excise in Great Britain to return *an estimate* of the quantities of tea, real and factitious, supposed to be consumed in their different districts annually: also the estimated proportion of persons in each district who drink tea, with such observations respecting tea as may occur to them. The officers' returns would probably support my estimate of the consumption.

If the English imported lb. 13,000,000 of tea or upward, and sold the same at low prices, as per plan, foreigners would import less in proportion, and the cash now lent to them would be paid to the English for bills on England at a much lower rate of exchange than at present.

The enormous charges in India must soon cease, and it is hoped, with proper management, the revenues, aided by the usual exports from England, after providing cargoes and supplying other settlements, may pay off part of the bond debt in India, and send £.500,000 annually to China.

Whilst the price of bullion continues high in England, and cash scarce in China for remittance, which latter will not probably exist longer than the present season (1783) the Company could have part of their China cargoes on bond.

Immediately upon the bill being passed, a vessel should be dispatched privately to China, with instructions to the supercargoes.

Also a dispatch over land, to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, with orders to assist China with as much cash and goods as convenient, without drawing bills; likewise to a certain amount for bills, under particular circumstances.

The cost in China of Imports 1773 to 1782 inclusive, at 5s. 3d. per dollar, or 7s. 3d. per tale.

Nt. lb. 6,000,000 of Bohea		
3,000,000 of Congou		
300,000 of Souchong		
3,000,000 of Singlo		
700,000 of Hyson		
<hr/>		
lb. 13,000,000	- - - - -	£ 722,245
2,000 Peculs of raw silk, at 275 Tales per Pecul	- - - - -	200,000
20,000 Pieces Nankeen	- - - - -	3,100
China ware and sago for 20 ships	- - - - -	20,000
<hr/>		
		945,345
Charges on merchandize stores for the factory and for Saint Helena	- - - - -	54,655
<hr/>		
Investment for one Year	- - - - -	1,000,000
<hr/>		
These Articles may be increased and produce a profit.	Exported annually from Europe to China, about	100,000
	Pepper from Bencoolen to ditto	20,000
	Ditto cotton, sandal wood, &c. from Bombay to ditto ditto	30,000
<hr/>		
		150,000
Suppose Bengal (in peace) may send	- - - - -	500,000
Bills of exchange and certificates to be drawn for	- - - - -	350,000
<hr/>		
		£ 1,000,000

The quantities of Tea arrived and expected to arrive in 1783 and 4, if all the Tea arrives that is ordered, will leave, after making a small Sale for March 1784, as follows:

Bohea	-	lb. 12,340,000 or 2 years consumption	} at 13,000,000 per Annum.
Congou	-	6,640,000 or 2 ditto	
Souchong	-	380,000 or 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ ditto	
Singlo	-	5,260,000 or 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ ditto	
Hyson	-	880,000 or 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ ditto	

Nt. lb. 25,500,000 expected to be unsold in England previous to September, 1784, which at 13,000,000 per Annum, will nearly supply the Sales to September, 1786 exclusive; therefore, if a considerable part should not arrive till 1785, it would be in time.

## APPENDIX.

## PROPOSED SALE.

	Quantity.	Gross Price.	Gross Amount.	Price, discount deducted.		
		s. d.		s. d.		
Bohea	Nt. lb. 6,000,000 at 1	10 per lb.	£ 550,000	1 8 <sup>57</sup> / <sub>100</sub> per lb.	{ which may be re-tailed in any Part of the Kingdom. }	for 2 s. s. 0 per lb.
Congou	3,000,000	2 8	400,000	2 5 <sup>92</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	ditto	3 0
Souchong	300,000	3 6	52,500	3 3 <sup>27</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	ditto	4 0
Singlo	3,000,000	3 6	525,000	3 3 <sup>27</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	ditto	3 to 4
Hyson	700,000	6 0	210,000	5 7 <sup>32</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	ditto	5 to 7
	Nt. lb. 13,000,000		£ 1,737,500			
		Dis. 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> per Ct.	112,937			
			£ 1,624,563	Average 2 s. 6 d. per lb.		

Cost on an Average of 10 Years Imports, ending 1782.

At 5s. 3d. per Dollar, or 7s. 3d. per Tale	£ 308,590
Customs as in 1783	£ 27 10d. per Cent. 293,670
Freight and Demorage	£ 28 per Ton 194,100
Charges on Merchandize	£ 5 per Cent. 48,800

Profit £ 845,160

131,206, or 4 and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> per Cent. on the Capital.

£ 976,366

Average Sale Amount of 10 Years, ending September Sale 1782.

Discount deducted - - - £ 976,366

To Cost of 13,000,000 lb. at the same Prices and Rates, as above £ 722,240

Customs free	-	-	-	0
Freight and Demorage at	£ 28 per Ton	425,400		
Charges of Merchandize at	£ 5 per Cent.	81,200		

£ 1,228,840

Profit 395,723, or 12 and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> per Cent. on the Capital.

£ 1,624,563

Sale Amount of 13,000,000 lb. at Prices proposed, Discount deducted - - - £ 1,624,563



If the Revenues and Trade, exclusive of Tea, produce £ 8 per Ct. the Profits on Tea would be divided thus :

				Company.	Public.
Profit on one Year's Sales at present	£ 131,200	equal to	£ 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> per Cent. on the Capital	£ 32,800	98,400
Ditto 13,000,000 lb. more than ditto	264,500	ditto	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ditto	66,125	198,375
Profit on 13,000,000 lb. Tea	- - £ 395,700	ditto	12 and <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> ditto	£ 98,925	296,774

If the whole profit arising from the Trade and Revenues should be necessary to make a Dividend of £ 8 per Cent. to the Proprietors ; to reduce the bond debt to £ 1,500,000 ; to pay off the simple contract debts of the Company ; and the public agree to forego any participation until said purposes are effected ; the Company will receive, in aid thereof, the profit on the extra quantity of Teas estimated to be sold between the first of September, 1784 and the first of March, 1788, amounting to - £ 925,000

If all Teas, excepting Bohea, should be sold for 6d. per lb. more than proposed in the plan, which they may well bear, the profit per Annum will be £ 175,000 more, or in the above Period - - - - - 525,000

		£ 1,450,000
May probably be received for Tea to be sold as per plan, to the 1st March, 1788	- -	5,690,000
May probably be received ditto to be sold, as usual, to ditto	- £ 3,420,000	
Deduct Customs to be paid	- - - - - 1,030,000	
		2,390,000
May be received more than usual to the 1st March, 1788	- - - - -	3,300,000

May probably be paid to the 1st of March, 1788, more than estimated, viz.

For freight and demorage of 32 ships, that may arrive by 1787, with extra Tea	- - - - - £ 700,000	
Impress on 20 ships, export Seasons 1786 and 1787	- - - - - 40,000	
		£ 740,000
For Bills of Exchange for purchase of extra quantity of Tea that may arrive in 1785, and be due about June, 1786	- - - - - 350,000	
Ditto ditto in 1786, and ditto ditto in 1787	- - - - - 450,000	
		800,000
Charges of Merchandize on said Tea	- - - - - 100,000	
		1,640,000
May probably remain on the 1st March, 1788, more than by the usual Sales of Tea	- -	1,660,000
If all Teas, excepting Bohea, should be sold for 6d. per lb. more than proposed in the plan, will also remain	- - - - -	525,000
		£ 2,185,000

W. RICHARDSON.

East India House,  
the 14th Sept. 1783.

VII. *An Account of the Quantities of Teas exported from China, in English and Foreign Ships, in each Year from 1776, distinguishing each Year.*

APPENDIX.

	Ships.	1776	Ships.	1777	Ships.	1778	Ships.	1779	Ships.	1780	Ships.	1781	Ships.	1782	Ships.	1783	Ships.	1784	Ships.	1785
By Swedes -	2	lb. 2,562,500	2	3,049,100	2	2,851,200	2	3,258,000	2	2,626,400	3	4,108,900	2	3,267,300	3	4,265,600	3	4,878,900	4	3,158,000
Danes -	2	2,833,700	2	2,487,300	2	2,098,300	1	1,388,400	3	3,983,600	2	2,341,400	3	4,118,500	4	5,477,200	3	3,204,00	4	5,334,000
Dutch -	5	4,923,700	4	4,856,500	4	4,695,700	4	4,553,100	4	4,687,800	4	4,957,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4,960,000
French -	3	2,521,600	5	5,719,100	7	3,657,500	4	2,102,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,231,200	4	—
Imperial -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1,375,900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,428,400	—	—
Hungarian -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	317,700	—	—	—	933,300	—	—	—	—
Tuscan -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,951,100	—	—	—	—
Portuguese -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prussian -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spanish -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3,329,800	2	880,100
Total Foreign -	12	lb. 12,841,500	13	16,112,000	15	13,302,700	11	11,302,300	10	12,673,700	10	11,725,600	5	7,385,800	16	14,630,200	21	19,072,300*	18	17,531,100*
English private trade included.	5	3,402,415	8	5,673,434	9	6,392,788	7	4,372,021	—	none imported	17	11,592,819	9	6,857,731	6	4,138,295	13	9,916,760	14	10,583,628
	17	lb. 16,243,915	21	21,785,434	24	19,695,488	18	15,674,321	10	12,673,700	27	23,318,419	14	14,243,531	22	18,768,495	34	28,989,060	32	28,114,728
		1786		1787		1788		1789		1790		1791		1792		1793		1794		1795
By Swedes -	4	lb. 6,212,400	1	1,747,700	2	2,890,900	2	2,589,000	—	—	—	—	1	1,591,330	1	1,559,730	1	756,130	—	—
Danes -	3	4,578,100	2	2,092,000	2	2,664,000	2	2,496,800	1	1,773,000	1	520,700	—	—	1	852,670	—	—	—	24,670
Dutch -	4	4,458,800	5	5,943,200	5	5,794,900	4	4,179,600	5	5,106,900	3	1,328,500	2	2,051,330	3	2,938,530	2	2,417,200	4	4,096,800
French -	1	466,600	1	382,260	3	1,728,900	1	292,100	1	294,300	2	442,100	4	784,000	2	1,540,670	—	—	—	—
Imperial -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hungarian -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tuscan -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American -	1	695,000	5	1,181,860	2	750,900	4	1,188,800	14	3,093,200	—	—	3	1,863,200	6	1,538,400	7	1,974,130	7	1,438,270
Prussian -	—	—	—	—	1	499,300	—	—	—	—	3	743,100	1	5,070	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spanish -	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	318,400	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	400	—	—	1	—
Genoese -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	260	—	—	2	578,930	2	289,470	1	17,460
Total Foreign -	13	lb. 16,410,900*	14	11,347,020	15	14,328,900	15	11,064,700	21	10,267,400	10	3,034,660	12	6,294,930	19	9,403,200	12	5,436,930	14	5,577,200
English private trade included.	18	13,480,691	27	20,610,919	29	22,096,703	27	20,141,745	21	17,991,032	25	22,369,620	11	13,185,467	16	16,005,414	18	20,728,705	21	23,733,810
	31	lb. 29,891,591	41	31,957,939	44	36,425,603	42	31,206,445	42	28,258,432	35	25,404,280	23	19,480,397	35	25,408,614	30	26,165,635	35	29,311,010

\* Most of these foreign ships went to China, previous to the Commutation Act, which passed into effect in England in September, 1784.  
+ Part of these should have arrived in 1780.



## VIII.

*An Account of the Amount of Goods and Bullion exported by the East India Company to China, in each Year from 1775 to 1795 inclusive; distinguishing the Amount of Goods and Bullion in each Year.*

Seasons.	British Goods, chiefly Woollens.	Bullion.	Totals.
1775	99,113	—	99,113
1776	107,848	88,574	196,422
1777	116,281	—	116,281
1778	102,694	—	102,694
1779	104,846	—	104,846
1780	107,482	—	107,482
1781	141,734	—	141,734
1782	106,125	—	106,125
1783	120,085	—	120,085
1784	177,479	—	177,479
1785	270,110	704,253	974,363
1786	245,529	694,961	940,490
1787	368,442	626,869	995,338
1788	401,199	469,408	870,607
1789	470,480	714,233	1,184,713
1790	541,172	—	541,172
1791	574,001	377,685	951,686
1792	680,219	—	680,219
1793	760,030	—	760,030
1794	744,140	—	744,140
1795	670,459	—	670,459
£	6,909,468	3,676,010	10,585,478

## IX.

*An Account of the Number of Ships, with the Number of Tons, Builders' Measurement of said Ships, arrived from China in 1776 and following Years; distinguishing each Year.*

	Number of Ships.	Builder's Measurement. Tons.	
1776	5	3,951	8 years, tons 48,476
1777	8	6,310	
1778	9	7,211	
1779	7	5,429	
1780	—	—	average 6,059
1781	17	13,557	part should have arrived in 1780.
1782	9	7,090	
1783	6	4,928	lb. 17,312,484 Tea bought on the continent of Europe during this period.
1784	13	10,347	
1785	14	11,103	
1786	18	14,465	
1787	28	20,954	Mars, tons 697, wrecked off Margate, not included.
1788	29	21,775	
1789	27	20,662	9 years, tons 164,774
1790	21	18,091	
1791	25	19,964	average 18,308
1792	11	11,454	
1793	16	14,171	lb. 3,212,225 Tea bought on the continent of Europe this year
1794	18	17,459	
1795	21	20,244	

In the latter years many of the ships were of very large dimensions, and brought more surplus tonnage in proportion.

## X.

*An Account of the Quantities of Teas sold by the East India Company since the Commutation Act commenced, including Private Trade, viz. from the 1st September, 1784 to the 1st March, 1797, with a comparison of what the same would have cost the Buyers at the sale Prices and Duties previous to the Commutation Act. Also an Account of the King's Duty on Teas sold between the 1st September, 1784 and the 1st March, 1797.*

				Sale prices previous to the commutation act, including duties.	
Bohea	lb. 47,861,460	sold for	£ 3,878,940	4s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	£ 10,320,127
Congou	83,701,233	—	13,357,902	6 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	28,685,110
Souchong	13,633,013	—	2,809,727	8 7 $\frac{7}{8}$	5,502,908
Singlo	51,212,761	—	7,199,751	6 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	17,177,614
Hyson	19,865,218	—	5,568,721	11 10 $\frac{5}{8}$	11,805,320
	lb. 216,273,685		£ 32,815,041		£ 73,491,079
	Duty on the above		4,832,189		
Total cost to the buyers			£ 37,647,230		
Balance in favour of the public			35,843,849		
				in 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, being £2,471,988 * average per annum.	
Would have cost at the old prices and duties			£ 73,491,079		

\* This sum or thereabout must have been paid annually to foreigners for real Teas, and to the manufacturers of factitious Teas, as the demand for Teas has not increased.

## APPENDIX.

King's duty on Tea sold between the 1st September, 1784 and the 1st March, 1797, being from the commencement of the commutation act.

From the 1st September 1784 to 1st March 1785	£ 180,174
1st March 1785 to 1st March 1786	292,193
1786 — 1787	314,945
1787 — 1788	316,646
1788 — 1789	307,317
1789 — 1790	326,817
1790 — 1791	340,170
1791 — 1792	344,293
1792 — 1793	351,710
1793 — 1794	334,576
1794 — 1795	380,805
1795 — 1796	636,971
1796 — 1797	705,572
	<hr/>
	£ 4,832,189

From the 1st September 1784 to March 1795	the duties were	£ 12 10	per cent.
March 1795 to March 1796	ditto	20	ditto
March 1797	ditto	30	ditto on all Teas

that may sell at and above 2s. 6d. per pound.

FINIS.













